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COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 3d CONGRESS  
MOSCOW, 1921

THESES AND RESOLUTIONS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THESES and RESOLUTIONS

adopted at the

Third World Congress of the  
Communist International

(June 22nd—July 12th, 1921)

PRICE 50 CENTS

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New York City, 1921

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# THESIS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

*Adopted at the 16th Session, July 4, 1921.*

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## 1. The Root of the Problem.

1. The revolutionary movement at the close of the imperialist war and during the succeeding period has been marked by unprecedented intensity. The month of March, 1917, witnessed the overthrow of Tzarism. In May, 1917, a vehement strike movement broke out in England. In November, 1917, the Russian proletariat seized the power of Government. The month of November, 1918, marked the downfall of the German and Austro-Hungarian monarchies. In the course of the succeeding year, a number of European countries were being swept by a powerful strike movement constantly gaining in scope and intensity. In March, 1919, a Soviet Republic was inaugurated in Hungary. At the close of that year the United States was convulsed by turbulent strikes involving the steel workers, miners and railwaymen. Following the January and March battles of 1919 the revolutionary movement in Germany reached its culminating point shortly after the Kapp uprising in March, 1920. The internal situation in France became most tense in the month of May, 1920. In Italy we witnessed the constant growth of unrest among the industrial and agrarian proletariat leading, in September, 1920, to the seizure of factories, mills and estates by the work-



ers. In December, 1920, the Czech proletariat resorted to the weapon of the proletarian mass strike. March, 1921, marked the uprising of workers in Central Germany and the coal miners' strike in England.

Having reached its highest point in those countries which had been involved in the war, particularly in the defeated countries, the revolutionary movement spread to the neutral countries as well. In Asia and in Africa, the movement aroused and intensified the revolutionary spirit of the great masses of the colonial countries. But this powerful revolutionary wave did not succeed in sweeping away international capitalism, nor even the capitalist order of Europe itself.

2. A number of uprisings and revolutionary battles have taken place during the year that elapsed between the Second and Third Congress of the Communist International, which resulted in sectional defeats (the Red Army offensive near Warsaw in August, 1920, the movement of the Italian proletariat in September, 1920, and the uprising of the German workers in March, 1921).

Following the close of the war which has been characterized by the elemental nature of its onslaught by the considerable formlessness of its methods and aims, and the extreme panic of the ruling classes, the first period of the revolutionary movement may now be regarded as having reached its termination. The self-confidence of the bourgeoisie as a class, and the apparent stability of its government apparatus have undoubtedly become strengthened. The panic of Communism haunting the bourgeoisie, not having disappeared, has nevertheless somewhat relaxed. The leading spirits of the bourgeoisie are now even boasting of the might of their government apparatus, and have assumed the offensive against the laboring masses everywhere, on both the economic and the political fields.

3. This situation presents the following questions to

the Communist International and to the entire working class:

To what extent does this transformation in the relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat correspond to the actual balance of the contending forces? Is it true that the bourgeoisie is about to restore the social balance which had been upset by the war? Is there any ground to suppose that the period of political upheaval and of class-wars is going to be superseded by a new epoch of restoration and capitalist development? Does not this necessitate revision of program or tactics of the Communist International?

## **II. The War, Artificial Business Stimulation.**

### **The Crisis and the Countries of Europe.**

4. The high tide of capitalism was reached in the two decades preceding the war. The intervals of prosperity were superseded by periods of depression of comparatively shorter duration and intensity. The general trend was that of an upward curve: the capitalist countries were growing rich.

Having scoured the world market through their trusts, cartels, and consortiums, the masters of world-capitalism well realized that this mad growth of capitalism will finally strike a dead wall confining the limits of the capacity of the market created by themselves. They therefore tried to get out of the difficulty by a surgical method. In place of a lengthy period of economic depression which was to follow and result in wholesale destruction of productive resources, the bloody crisis of the world war was ushered in to serve the same purpose.

But the war proved not only extremely destructive in its methods, but also of an unexpectedly lengthy duration. So that besides the economic destruction of the "surplus" productive resources, it also weakened, shat-

tered, and undermined the fundamental apparatus of European production. At the same time it gave a powerful impetus to the capitalist development of the United States and quickened the aggrandisement of Japan. Thus the centre of gravity of world industry was shifted from Europe to America.

5. The period following upon the termination of the four years' slaughter, the demobilization of the armies, the transition to a peaceful state of affairs, and the inevitable economic crisis coming as a result of the exhaustion and chaos caused by the war—all this was regarded by the bourgeoisie with the greatest anxiety as the approach of the most critical moment. As a matter of fact during the two years following the war, the countries involved became the arena of a mighty movement of the proletariat.

One of the chief causes which enabled the bourgeoisie to preserve its dominant position was furnished by the fact that the first months after the war, instead of bringing about the seemingly unavoidable crisis, were marked by economic prosperity. This lasted approximately for one year and a half. Nearly all the demobilized workers were absorbed in industry. As a general rule wages did not catch up with the cost of living, but they nevertheless kept rising, and that created the illusion of economic gains.

It was just this *commercial and industrial revival of 1919 and 1920* which, to some extent, relieved the tension of the postwar period, that caused the bourgeoisie to assume an extremely self-confident air, and to *proclaim the advent of a new era of organic capitalist development*. But as a matter of fact, the industrial revival of 1919-20 was not in essence the beginning of the regeneration of capitalist industry, but a mere prolongation of the artificially stimulated state of industry and commerce, which was created by the war, and which undermined the economy of capitalism.

6. The outbreak of the imperialist war coincided

with the industrial crisis which had its origin in America (1913) and began to hover menacingly over Europe. The normal development of the industrial cycle was checked by the war, which had itself become the most powerful economic factor. It created an unlimited market for the basic branches of industry and made them secure against competition. The war played the part of an insatiable customer ever in want of goods. The manufacture of productive commodities was supplanted by the fabrication of the means of destruction. Millions of people not engaged in production, but in work of destruction, were continuously using up necessities of life at ever-increasing prices. This process is the cause of the present economic decline. By the contradictions of capitalist society the masters lent the cloak of prosperity to this ruinous prospect. The state kept issuing loan after loan, one issue of paper money followed upon another, till state accounting began to be carried on in billions instead of millions. The wear and tear of machinery and of equipment was not repaired. The cultivation of land was in a bad state. Public construction in the cities and on the high-roads were discontinued. At the same time the number of government bonds, credit and treasury bills and notes kept growing incessantly. Fictitious capital increased in proportion as productive capital kept diminishing. The credit system instead of serving as a medium for the circulation of goods, became the means whereby national property, including that which is to be created by the growing generations, was being mobilized for military purposes.

The capitalist State, dreading the impending crisis, continued after the war to follow the same policy as it did during the war, namely: new issues of paper money, new loans, regulation of prices of prime necessities, guaranteeing of profits, government subsidies and other additions of salaries and wages plus military censorship and military dictatorship.

7. At the same time the termination of hostilities,

and the renewal of international relations limited though it was, brought out a demand for various commodities from all parts of the globe. Large stocks of products were left without use during the war, and the enormous sums of money centered in the hands of dealers and speculators were mobilized by them to where they could produce the largest profits. Hence the feverish boom accompanied by an unusual rise of prices and fantastic dividends, while in reality none of the basic branches of industry, anywhere in Europe, approached the prewar level.

8. By means of a continuous derangement of the economic system, accumulation of inflated capital, depreciation of currency, (speculation instead of economic restoration) the bourgeois governments in league with the banking combines and industrial trusts succeeded in putting off the beginning of the economic crisis till the moment when the political crisis consequent upon the demobilization and the first squaring of accounts was somewhat allayed.

Thus, having gained a considerable breathing space, the bourgeoisie imagined that the dreaded crisis had been removed for an indefinite time. Optimism reigned supreme. It appeared as if the needs of reconstruction had opened a new era of lasting expansion of industry, commerce and particularly speculation. But the year 1920 proved to have been a period of shattered hopes.

The crisis—financial, commercial and industrial, began in March, 1920. Japan saw the beginning of it in the month of April. In the United States, it opened by a slight fall of prices in January. Then it passed on to England, France and Italy (in April). It reached the neutral countries of Europe, then Germany and extended to all the countries involved in the capitalist sphere of influence during the second half of 1920.

9. Thus *the crisis of 1920 is not a periodic stage of "normal" industrial cycle, but a profound reaction consequent upon the artificial stimulation that prevailed during the*

*war and during the two years thereafter and was based upon ruination and exhaustion.*

The upward curve of industrial development was marked by turns of good times followed by crises. During the last seven years, however, there was no rise in the productive forces of Europe but, on the contrary, they kept at a downward sweep.

The crumbling of the very foundation of industry is only beginning and is going to proceed along the whole line.

European economy is going to contract and expand during a number of years to come. The curve marking the productive forces is going to decline from the present fictitious level. The expansions are going to be only short lived and of a speculative nature to a considerable extent, while the crises are going to be hard and lasting. The present European crisis is one of under-production. It is the form in which destitution reacts against the striving to produce trade, and resume life on the usual capitalist level.

10. Of all countries of Europe, England is economically the strongest and has been the least damaged by the war but, even with regards to this country, one cannot say that it has, in any way, gained its capitalist equilibrium after the war. Owing to its international organization and to the fact that it came out victorious from the war, England did indeed, achieve some *commercial* and *financial* success. It improved its commercial balance, it raised the rate of the pound and reached an accounting surplus in its budget. But, in the *industrial* sphere, England, after the war, not only did not progress, it made big strides backward. The productivity of labor in England today and her national income are much below that of the pre-war period. The coal industry, which is the fundamental branch of her national economy, is getting ever worse and worse, pulling down all the other branches of industry. The incessant disturbances caused by the strikes are not the

cause but the consequence of the derangement of English economy.

11. The war has brought about the irretrievable economic ruin of France, Belgium and Italy. The attempt to restore the economic situation of France at the expense of Germany is nothing but crass robbery coupled with diplomatic extortion which spells the further ruination of Germany (coal, machinery, cattle, gold) without, however, bringing about the salvation of France. This attempt is causing heavy damage to the entire economy of Continental Europe. France is gaining much less than Germany is losing. And in spite of the fact that the French peasants have through superhuman exertions recovered for agricultural use large tracts of the devastated district; in spite of the fact that certain industries (for example, the chemical industry and war industries) made a swing upwards during the war, nevertheless, France is rapidly steering towards economic ruin. State debts and government expenses (on militarism) have reached an insupportable amount. At the close of the recent economic advance French currency had dropped to 60% of its face value. Owing to the heavy losses in man-power caused by the war—which cannot be made good since the increase of population is in a stagnant condition—the economic reconstruction of France cannot be brought about. The same is true, barring some deviations, with regard to the economic position of Italy and Belgium.

12. A striking illustration of the illusory nature of this kind of business expansion is presented by Germany, where a seven-fold increase in prices coincided with a sharp decline of production. Germany won her apparent success in international trade relations at the cost of both the deterioration of the nation's basic capital (the destruction of industry, transportation and credit systems) and the progressive lowering of the standard of living of her working class. From the social economic standpoint the profits gained by German exporters represent pure loss. For, this export in reality amounts

to selling out the country's resources at a low price. While the capitalist masters of Germany are securing for themselves a constantly increasing share of the ever-decreasing national wealth, the workers of the country are becoming the coolies of Europe.

13. As to the smaller neutral countries, they preserve their deceptive political independence thanks to the antagonistic contentions of the great powers and maintain their economic existence on the outskirts of the world market, whose essential nature used to be determined in the anti-bellum period by England, Germany, America and France.

During the war the bourgeoisie of these countries were making enormous profits, but the devastation of those countries which had been involved in the war led to the economic disorganization of these neutral countries as well. Their debts have increased, their currency exchange has dropped. The crisis spares them no blows.

### III. The United States, Japan, Colonial Countries and Soviet Russia.

14. The development of the United States during the war proceeded, in a certain sense, in an opposite direction to that of Europe. The part played by the United States in the war was chiefly that of a salesman. The destructive consequences of the war had no direct effect upon that country, and the damage caused to its transport, agriculture, etc., was only of an indirect nature and of a far smaller degree than that caused to England, not to speak of either France or Germany. At the same time, the United States, taking full advantage of the fact that European competition had either been removed entirely or had become extremely weak, succeeded in raising some of its most important industries (such as petroleum production, ship-building, automobile and coal industry) to such a height as it had never anticipated. Today most of the countries of Europe are dependent



on America not only for their petroleum and grain, but also for their coal.

While America's export prior to the war consisted chiefly of agricultural products and raw materials (making up more than two-thirds of the entire export), her main export at the present time is made up of manufactured articles (60 per cent of her entire export). Having been in debt prior to the war, the United States is now the world's creditor, concentrating within her coffers about one-half of the world's gold reserve and continually augmenting her treasury. The dominating part played by the pound sterling has now been taken over by the American dollar.

15. This extraordinary expansion of American industry was caused by a special combination of circumstances namely: the withdrawal of European competition and, above all, the demands of the European war market. But, American capitalism today has also got out of balance. Since devastated Europe as a competitor of America is not in a position to regain its pre-war role on the world market, the American market as well can preserve only an insignificant part of its former position with Europe as a customer. At the same time America today is producing goods for export purposes to a much greater extent than prior to the war. The over-expansion of American industry, during the war cannot find any outlet owing to the scarcity of world markets. As a consequence, many industries have become part time or seasonal industries, affording employment to the workers only part of the year. The crisis in the United States resulting from the decline of Europe signifies the beginning of a profound and lasting economic disorganization. This is the result of the fundamental disturbance of the world's subdivision of labor.

16. Japan also took advantage of the war in order to extend her influence on the world market. Her development has been of a much more limited scope than that of the United States and some branches of Japanese in-

dustry have acquired the character of what might be termed "hothouse" production. Her productive forces were sufficiently strong to enable her to take hold of the market while there were no competitors. But they are utterly insufficient to retain that market in a competitive struggle with the more powerful capitalist countries. Hence the acute crisis which had its starting point particularly in Japan.

17. The Transatlantic countries and the colonies (such as South America, Canada, Australia, China, Egypt and others), which used to export raw materials in their turn, took advantage of the rupture in international relations for the development of their home industries. But the world crisis has now involved these countries as well, and their internal industrial development is going to be checked, thereby serving as an additional cause for trade handicaps to England and of the whole of Europe.

18. Thus, there is no ground whatsoever to speak of any restoration of lasting balance today either in the sphere of production, commerce or credit with reference to Europe or even with reference to the world as a whole. The economic decline of Europe is still going on and the decay of the foundation of European industry will manifest itself in the near future.

The exchange of goods on the world market is being greatly hindered by the devaluation of currency in Western European countries, reaching in some cases 99 per cent. The incessant rapid fluctuation of the rate of exchange has converted capitalist production into wild speculation.

The world market is in a state of disorganization. Europe wants American products for which, however, it can give nothing in return. While the body of Europe is suffering from anemia, that of America is affected with plethora. The gold standard has been destroyed and the world market has been deprived of its general exchange medium.

The only way by which the restoration of the gold

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standard in Europe could be achieved would be by getting the export to exceed the import. But this is just what devastated Europe is not in a condition to do. America, on the other hand, is trying to check the influx of European goods by raising her tariff.

Thus, Europe has become a bedlam. Prohibitive measures concerning import and transit and increasing the protective tariff manifold have been passed by many a state. England has introduced prohibitive customs duties. The export as well as the entire economic life of Germany is at the mercy of the Allies and particularly by the French speculators. The former Austria-Hungary is now broken up into a number of provinces divided by custom borders. The net in which the Versailles Treaty has entangled the world is becoming more and more tightened. The elimination of Soviet Russia as a market for manufactured goods and as a supply of raw materials has contributed in a very high degree to the disturbing of the economic equilibrium of the world.

19. The reappearance of Russia on the world market is not going to produce any appreciable changes in it. Russia's means of production have been always completely dependent upon the industrial conditions of the rest of the world and this dependence particularly with regard to the allied countries has become intensified during the war when her home industry was almost completely mobilized for war purposes. But the blockade cut off these vital connections between Russia and the other countries. There could be no question of setting up any new branches of industry which were needed to prevent the general decay caused by the wear and tear of machinery and equipment in a country completely exhausted during three years of incessant civil war. In addition to this, hundreds and thousands of our best proletarian elements, comprising a great number of skilled workers had to be recruited for the Red Army. Under these conditions, surrounded by the iron ring of the blockade, carrying on incessant wars and suffering

from the heritage of an industrial collapse no other regime could have maintained the economic life of the country and create such conditions as would permit of centralized administration. There is no denying, however, that the struggle against world imperialism was carried on at the price of the progressive diminution of the productive resources of industry in various branches. Now, since the blockade has relaxed and the relations between town and country are becoming more regular, the Soviet power for the first time, has been enabled to gradually and steadily direct the country upon the road to economic prosperity in a centralized manner.

#### IV. Social Contradictions Intensified.

20. The unprecedented destruction of industrial resources brought about by the war did not check the process of social differentiation. Quite the contrary, the proletarianization of the intermediary classes, including the new middle-groupings of employees, officials, etc., and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the small clique of trusts combines and so on, have, for the last ten years, made enormous strides in the more backward countries. The Stinnes combine is now the most important factor of the economic life of Germany.

The soaring of prices on all commodities coincident with the catastrophic depreciation of currency in all countries involved in the war meant a redistribution of the national incomes to the disadvantage of the working class, officials, employees and small owners and all other persons with a more or less fixed income.

Thus we see that though Europe has been thrown back for a number of decades as to its material resources, the intensification of the social contradictions has not only not retrograded or been suspended but has, on the contrary, assumed a particular acuteness.

This cardinal fact is, of itself, sufficient to dispel any illusions of the possibility of a lasting and peaceful de-

velopment under a democratic form of Government. *The social differentiation proceeding along the line of economic decline predetermines the most intense convulsive and cruel nature of the class struggle.*

The present crisis is only a continuation of the destructive work done by the war and the post-bellum speculative boom.

21, The prices of agricultural products have risen, bringing about an apparent prosperity in the country and increasing in reality the income and the property of the rich peasantry. The peasants thus succeeded in paying off the debts contracted by him in currency at its full value with the aid of the paper money which he had accumulated in large quantities. But the paying off of mortgages is not the only thing necessary for agricultural prosperity. In spite of the enormous increases of the prices of farm land, in spite of the advantage unscrupulously taken of the situation by the monopolists of prime necessities, and in spite of the fact that the big landlords and owners of large farm estates have grown rich, the agricultural situation of Europe has unmistakably declined. We witness a great retrogression of extensive agriculture, the conversion of farmland into pasture farmsteads deprived of cattle, three-field farming, etc. This decline has been caused also by the lack of labor power, by the decline of cattle breeding, by the lack of fertilizer, by the increase of prices on manufactured goods, and in Central and Eastern Europe also by the intentional curtailment of agricultural production coming as a result of the attempt made by the state to get hold of the products of agriculture. The owners of large, and partly also, of medium farms have organized strong political and economic organizations in order to protect themselves against the burdens imposed upon them by the needs of reconstruction and are taking advantage of the embarrassment of the bourgeoisie to get the government to pass tariff and taxation measures favorable to them, as a reward for the support they are rendering the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat.

In this manner they hamper the reconstruction of capitalist economy. Thus here arose a conflict of interests between the town and the country bourgeoisie which impairs the strength of the bourgeoisie as a class.

At the same time large numbers of the poorer peasantry have become proletarians and paupers, the village has become a breeding place of discontent, and the class-consciousness of the country proletariat has become sharpened.

On the other hand, the general improvement of Europe, making it incapable of purchasing sufficient American grain, has caused a heavy crisis in the farm industry across the ocean. We are approaching a crisis of peasant and farming economy, not only in Europe, but also in the United States, Canada, Argentine, Australia and South Africa.

22. Owing to the fall of the purchasing power of money, the position of the State and private employees has, as a rule, become even worse than that of the proletarians. Having lost their usual stability the middle and lower officials are becoming factors of political unrest and undermine the Government apparatus which they are called upon to serve. This "new middle estate" which has been regarded by the Reformists as the bulwark of conservatism, can be utilized as a factor in the revolution in the present transitional period.

23. Capitalist Europe has completely lost its dominating position in the world economy. But it was just this domination that had lent some relative equilibrium between its social classes. All the efforts of the European countries (England and partly France) to restore former conditions only tend to intensify their instability and disorganization.

24. While the concentration of wealth going on in Europe, has its foundations in the ruinous conditions of that Continent, in the United States the concentration of property and the extreme intensification of class distinctions are proceeding on the basis of the feverish growth of capitalist accumulation. The class struggle

now being waged on American soil is assuming an extremely tense revolutionary character owing to the sharp vacillations produced by the general instability of the world market. The period of an unprecedented rise of capitalism is bound to be followed by an extraordinary rise of revolutionary struggle.

25. The emigration of workers and peasants across the ocean has always served as a safety-valve to the capitalist regime in Europe. It grew during prolonged periods of depression and after unsuccessful revolutionary outbreaks. At present, however, America and Australia are putting ever-growing obstacles in the way of emigration. Thus, this safety-valve, so necessary to the capitalist regime, has ceased to exist.

26. The vigorous development of capitalism in the East, particularly in India and in China, has created new social foundations for the revolutionary struggle. The bourgeoisie of the Eastern countries has bound up its fate even more closely with foreign capital, and has thus become a very important weapon of capitalist domination. The contest between this bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism is the contest of a weaker competitor against his stronger rival, and is by its very nature only half-hearted and ineffective. The development of the native proletariat paralyzes the nationalistic-revolutionary tendencies of the capitalist bourgeoisie. At the same time the great masses of the peasants of the Oriental countries, look upon the Communist vanguard as their real revolutionary leader. This is particularly true of the more progressive elements of these masses.

The combination of the military nationalistic oppression of foreign imperialism, of the capitalist exploitation by foreign and native bourgeoisie, and the survivals of feudalism are creating favorable conditions in which the young proletariat of the colonial countries must develop rapidly and take the lead in the revolutionary movement of the peasant masses.

The revolutionary national movement in India and in other colonies is today an essential component part of the world revolution to the same extent as the uprising of the proletariat in the capitalist countries of the old and the new world.

## V. International Relations.

27. The economic conditions of the world in general and the decline of Europe in particular presage a long period of hard times, disturbances, crises of a general and partial character and so forth. The international relations inaugurated by the war and the Versailles Treaty are rendering the situation more and more hopeless. The trend of the economic forces tending to sweep away national boundaries and convert Europe and the rest of the world into one economic territory gave birth to imperialism. But, on the other hand, the struggle between the contending forces of this imperialism led to the creation of a multiplicity of new national boundaries, new custom-barriers and new armies. In regard to State administration and economy, Europe has been thrown back to the Middle Ages.

The soil which has been exhausted and laid waste is now being called upon to feed an army one and a half times as large as that of 1914, in the hey-day of "armed peace."

28. The policy of France which is playing a dominant part in Europe today, is based upon the following two principles:

The blind rage of the usurer, ready to strangle an insolvent debtor and the greed of predatory big industry striving to create preliminary conditions for industrial imperialism to supplant bankrupt financial imperialism with the aid of the Saar, Ruhr and Upper Silesian coal basins.

But this striving runs counter to the interests of England, whose aim is to keep the German coal away from the French ore which, if brought together, would create



one of the most important conditions necessary for the reconstruction of Europe.

29. Great Britain today has reached the high-water mark of her power. Not only has she retained all the dominions, but she has also acquired new ones. Nevertheless, it is just at this moment that it is becoming most evident that the dominating international position of England stands in contradiction to her actual economic decline. German capitalism technically and organizationally much more progressive than that of England, has been crushed by force of arms. The United States, which has made both Americas economically subject to her, has now come out as a triumphant rival even more menacing than Germany was. The productivity of labor and of industry in the United States, owing to its superior organization and technique, is now above that of England. Within the territory of the United States from 65 to 70 per cent of the world's petroleum is being produced upon which depends the automobile industry, tractor production, the fleet and aviation. England's century-old monopoly in the coal market has been decisively broken. America has now assumed first place and her European export is ominously increasing. America's commercial marine has nearly come up to that of England. Nor is the United States content to put up any longer with England's cable monopoly. Great Britain has taken up a defensive position with regard to her industry and is now resorting to protective legislation against the United States under the guise of combatting the "unwholesome" German competition. Finally, while the English fleet, comprising a large number of battleships of the old type, has been checked in its further development, the Harding administration has taken up the Wilsonian program of naval construction intended to secure the superiority of the American flag on the sea within the next couple of years.

The situation has become such that either England will be automatically pushed back and, in spite of her

victory over Germany, will become a second-rate power or she will be constrained in the very near future to test in mortal combat with the United States its power gained in former years.

That is just the reason why England is strengthening her alliance with Japan and is making concessions to France in order to secure the latter's assistance or neutrality at any rate. The growth of the International role of the latter country within the European continent during last year has been caused not by a strengthening of France but by the international weakening of England.

Germany's capitulation last May on the indemnity question signifies, however, a temporary victory for England, including as it does a supplementary guarantee of further economic decay of Central Europe without in any way excluding seizure by France of the Ruhr district and the Upper Silesia basin in the near future.

30. The antagonism between Japan and the United States which was temporarily veiled by the former's participation in the war against Germany is now developing with full force. In consequence of the war, Japan has approached the American coast, having secured for itself a number of islands on the Pacific which are of great strategic importance.

The crisis of Japanese industry, following upon its rapid expansion, has again put to the front the problem of emigration. Being very thickly populated and poor in natural resources, Japan must export either her goods or her men, but whether she does the one or the other, she collides with the United States: In California, in China and on the Yap Islands.

Japan is spending one-half of its budget on the maintenance of its army and fleet. In the impending struggle between England and the United States, Japan is going to play on the sea the same part as that played by France on land during the war with Germany. Japan to-day is making use of the antagonism between Great Britain and America, but, when the final struggle between these two

giants for world hegemony breaks out, Japan is going to be the battleground of that fight.

31. Both the original causes that called forth the recent great slaughter and the chief combatants that took part in it marked it as a European war, the crucial point of which was the antagonism between England and Germany. The intervention of the United States only widened the scope of the struggle, but it did not divert it from its original direction. The European conflict was being settled by world-wide means. The war, having settled the English-German and German-American quarrel in its own way, not only did not solve the problem of the relations between the United States and England, but has, for the first time, put that problem prominently forward as one of the first order and the question of the American-Japanese as one of the second order. Thus, the last war was in reality only a prelude to a genuine world war which is to solve the problem of *imperialist autocracy*.

32. This, however, forms only one focus of international policy which has yet another focus located in the Russian Soviet Federated Republic and the Third International, brought about by the war. All the forces of the world revolution are arraying themselves against all the imperialist combinations.

Whether the alliance between England and France is going to be maintained or broken up, whether the Anglo-Japanese treaty is going to be renewed or not, whether the United States is going to join the League of Nations or not—all this is of little value as far as the interests of the proletariat or the securing of peace is concerned. The proletariat can see no guarantee for peace in the vacillating, predatory, and treacherous combinations of capitalist powers, whose policy turns to an ever-increasing extent around the antagonism between England and America, fostering that antagonism and preparing for a new bloody outbreak.

The fact that some of the capitalist governments have

concluded peace and commercial treaties with Soviet Russia does not mean that the bourgeoisie of the world has given up the idea of destroying the Soviet Republic. What we are witnessing now is nothing but a change, a temporary change perhaps, of the forms and methods of struggle. The uprising caused by the Japanese troops in the Far East may serve as an introduction to a new stage of armed intervention.

It is altogether obvious that the longer the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat will go on, the more inevitably will the bourgeoisie be impelled by the contradiction of the international economic and political situation to make another bloody denouement on a world-wide scale.

If this should come to pass, the "restoration of capitalist equilibrium" consequent upon a new war would have to proceed under conditions of economic exhaustion and barbarity in comparison with which the present state of Europe might be regarded as the height of well-being.

33. In spite of the fact that the late war has furnished terrible evidence that wars are unprofitable—a truth lying at the bottom of bourgeois and socialist pacifism—the process of political, economic, ideological and technical preparation for a new war, is going on at full speed all through the capitalist world. Humanitarian anti-revolutionary pacifism has become an auxiliary force to militarism.

The social-democrats of every variety and the Amsterdam Trade unionists, who are trying to make the workers of the world believe that they ought to adapt themselves to the economic and political conditions resulting from the war, are rendering the imperialist bourgeoisie most valuable services in the matter of preparing a new slaughter which threatens to completely annihilate civilization.

## VI. The Working Class and the Post-Bellum Period.

34. The problem of capitalist reconstruction along the lines outlined above essentially puts forward the question as to whether the working class is willing to bear any more heavy sacrifices in order to perpetuate its own slavery, which is going to be even more heavy and more-cruel than it was prior to the war.

The industrial and economic reconstruction of Europe requires the setting up of new machinery to replace that destroyed during the war and the effective recreation of capital. This would be possible only if the proletariat were willing to work more under a far lower standard of living. The capitalists are insisting on this, and the treacherous leaders of the Yellow International urge the proletariat to assist in the reconstruction of capitalism in the first place, and then proceed fighting for the betterment of their own conditions. But, the European proletariat is not ready to make this sacrifice. It demands a higher standard of living, which is utterly incompatible with the present state of the capitalist system. Hence the everlasting strikes and uprisings; hence the impossibility of the economic reconstruction of Europe.

To restore the value of paper money means for a number of European countries (Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland, the Balkans, etc.) first of all to throw off the burden of too heavy obligations, i.e., to declare themselves bankrupt; but this would be a strong impulse to the struggle of all classes for a new distribution of the national income. To restore the value of paper money means further reduction of state expenditures to the detriment of the masses (to forego the regulation of wages and of articles of prime necessity); to prevent the import of cheaper foreign manufactures and increase the amount of exported articles by lowering the cost of production which can be achieved, above all, by increasing the exploitation of labor.

Every real measure tending to restore capitalist

equilibrium must by the very nature of the case tend to disturb class equilibrium to a still greater extent than heretofore, and lend additional impetus to the class war. Thus, the attempt at a revival of capitalism involves a contest of vital forces, of classes and parties. If one of the two contending classes, namely the proletariat should decide to refrain from the revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie would undoubtedly establish some sort of a new capitalist equilibrium, an equilibrium based upon material and spiritual deterioration, leading to new wars, to the progressive impoverishment of entire countries, and to the continuous dying out of these millions of toiling masses.

But the frame of mind of the world proletariat today furnishes no ground whatever for any such supposition.

35. The elements of stability, of conservatism, and of tradition have to a considerable extent lost their power over the minds of the laboring masses. It is true, that social democracy and the trade unions still exercise an influence over a considerable part of the proletariat, thanks to the apparatus of organization that has come down to them from former times. But the nature of this influence as well as that of the proletariat itself has undergone considerable changes in no way consistent with the "step by step" methods of the pre-war period.

In the upper crust of the proletariat the labor bureaucracy having grown out of proportion, being closely knit together, resorting to certain methods of domination that have become habitual, still preserves its usual position and is bound up by numerous ties with the institutions and organizations of the capitalist state. Then come those of the rank and file whose position is more favorable than that of the rest of the workers, who occupy or look forward to occupying some administrative post in the industry itself, and on whom the labor bureaucracy mainly relies for its support.

The older generation of social-democrats and trade union men consisting in the main of skilled workers,

have become attached to their organizations through decades of struggle and cannot make up their minds to sever connections with them, regardless of the treacherous nature of their activity. But, in many industries, unskilled workers, and female workers are entering the ranks in considerable numbers.

Millions of workers having gone through the experience of the war and having acquired the ability to use the rifle are now prepared to a large extent to turn the weapons against their class enemies, provided they be given the strong leadership and serious training which are essential for victory.

Millions of working men and particularly women have been newly recruited for industrial pursuits during the war. These new workers brought with themselves their petty-bourgeois prejudices. But they also brought along their impatient claims for better conditions of life.

There are also millions of young working men and women who have grown up in the storm and stress of war and revolution, who are more susceptible to the Communist ideas and are anxious to act.

The ebb and flow of the gigantic army of unemployed, some of whom are unattached to any class, while others possess only partial class attachments, form a striking illustration of the distintegration of capitalist production and represent a constant menace to the bourgeois order. All these proletarian elements, varying so much in origin and character, have been enlisting in the post-bellum revolutionary movement at various times and in varying degrees. This explains the vacillations, the ebbs and flows, the attacks and retreats, characterizing the revolutionary war. But the shattering of old illusions, the terrible uncertainty of existence, the arbitrary domination of the trusts and bloody methods of the militarized state—all these are rapidly welding the overwhelming majority of the proletarian masses together. The great masses are searching for a determined and definite leadership and for a closely welded and centralized Communist Party to take the lead.

36. During the war, the condition of the working class became perceptibly worse. It is true some groups of workers improved their condition, and in those cases where several members of a working man's family were in a position to hold their place near the loom, the workers succeeded in maintaining and even in raising their standard of life. But as a general rule wages did not keep up with the rise in prices.

The proletariat of Central Europe has been doomed to ever-greater privations, ever since the war began. The lowering of the standard of life was not so noticeable in the allied countries till lately. In England, the proletariat succeeded in stopping the process of lowering the standard of life by means of an energetic struggle carried on during the last period of the war. In the United States, some strata of the workers succeeded in improving their conditions, others only retained their previous standard of living, while still others had their standard of living lowered.

The economic crisis has come down upon the proletariat with terrific force. The falling of wages began to exceed the fall of prices. The number of unemployed and semi-employed has reached such dimensions as have never been equalled in capitalist history.

The ups and downs in the condition of existence not only have an unfavorable effect on productivity, but also prevent the restoration of class equilibrium in its most essential domain, that of production. *The instability of the conditions of life reflecting nationally and internationally the general instability of economic conditions is to-day the most revolutionary factor of social development.*

## VII.—The Perspective and Problems Involved

37. The war did not have as its immediate consequence a proletarian revolution, and the bourgeoisie has some ground to register this fact as a great victory for itself.

Only petty bourgeois dullards can imagine that the fact that the European proletariat did not succeed in overthrow-



ing the bourgeoisie during the war or immediately after it, is an indication that the programme of the Communist International failed. The Communist International is basing its policy on the proletarian revolution, but this by no means implies either dogmatically fixing any definite date for the revolution, or any pledge to bring it about mechanically at a set time. Revolution has always been, and is today, nothing else but a struggle of living forces carried on within given historic conditions. The war has destroyed capitalist equilibrium all over the world. It has thus created conditions favoring the proletariat, which is the fundamental force of the revolution. The Communist International has been exerting all its efforts to take full advantage of these conditions.

*The distinction between the Communist International and the Social-Democrats of all colors does not consist in the fact that we are trying to force the revolution and set a definite date for it while they are opposed to any utopian and immature uprisings. No, the distinction lies in the fact that Social-Democrats hinder the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state while the Communists, on the other hand, are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

But, during the two and a half years following the war, the proletarians of various countries have exhibited their self-sacrifice, energy, and readiness for the struggle to such an extent as would amply suffice to make the revolution triumphant, provided there had been a strongly centralized international Communist Party on the scene ready for action. But, during the war, and immediately thereafter, by force of historic circumstances, there was at the head of the European proletariat the organization of the Second International which has been and remains up to date, the invaluable political weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

38. By the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, the

power of the Government in Germany was practically in the hands of the working class, but the Social-Democracy, the Independents, and the unions used all their traditional influence and their whole apparatus for the purpose of returning the power into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In Italy, the stormy revolutionary movement of the proletariat during one and a half years has been marked by powerful currents and it was only thanks to the petty bourgeois impotence of the Socialist Party, to the treacherous policy of the parliamentary factions, and to the cowardly opportunism of the trade union organizations, that the bourgeoisie got into a position to reconstruct its apparatus, to mobilize its white guards and to assume the offensive against the proletariat which has thus been temporarily discouraged by the bankruptcy of its leading organs.

The mighty strike movement in England was frustrated again and again during the last year, not so much by the government forces as by the conservative trade unions whose apparatus was most shamefully used to serve counter-revolutionary ends. Had the leaders of the trade unions remained faithful to the cause of the working class, the machinery of the trade unions could have been used for revolutionary battles despite their defects. The recent crisis of the Triple Alliance furnished the possibility of a break with the bourgeoisie, but this was frustrated by the conservatism, cowardice and treachery of the trade union leaders. Should the machinery of the English trade unions develop half the amount of energy in the interests of socialism which it had been using in the interests of capitalism, the English proletariat would conquer power and would start the reconstruction of the economic organization of the country with only an insignificant amount of sacrifice.

The same refers to a greater or less extent to all other capitalist countries.

39. It is absolutely beyond dispute that in many countries the open revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power has been temporarily delayed. But, in the very nature of

the case, it was impossible to expect that the revolutionary offensive after the war not having resulted in an immediate victory should, go on developing incessantly along an upward curve. Political evolution proceeds in cycles and has its ups and downs. The enemy does not remain passive, but fights for his existence. If the offensive of the proletariat does not lead to direct victory, the bourgeoisie embraces the first opportunity for a counter-offensive. The proletariat in losing some of its positions which were too easily won usually experience some temporary depression in its ranks. *But it is an undoubted mark of our time that the curve of the capitalist evolution proceeds, through temporary rises, constantly downwards, while the curve of revolution proceeds through some vacillations constantly upwards.*

Since the reconstruction of capitalism presupposes a great intensification of exploitation, the annihilation of millions of lives, the lowering of millions of other lives below the minimum of existence, the constant insecurity of the conditions of the proletariat, the working class will be forced to repeated revolts, to continuous strikes and riots. Under this pressure and in the course of these struggles the will of the masses to overthrow the capitalist order will grow in strength.

40. The fundamental task of the Communist Party in the current crisis is to conduct, extend, widen and unite the present defensive fight of the proletariat and sharpen it towards the final political struggle in accordance with the course of evolution. Should, however, the pace of development slacken and the present economic crisis be followed by a period of prosperity in a greater or less number of countries, this would by no means be an indication of the beginning of the "organic" epoch. So long as capitalism exists periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its death agony as was the case during its youth and maturity. In case the proletariat should be forced to retreat under the onslaught of capitalism in the course of the present crisis, it will immediately resume the offensive, as soon as a more favorable combination of

circumstances sets in. The offensive character of the economic struggle of the proletariat which would inevitably be carried on under the slogan of revenge for all the deceptions of the war period, and for all the plunder and abuses of the crisis, will tend to turn into an open civil war just as the present defensive stage of the struggle does.

41. Whether the revolutionary movement in the near future is going to proceed at a rapid or protracted rate, the Communist Party must, in either case, be the *party of action*. This Party stands at the head of the struggling masses. It must firmly and clearly formulate its slogans and must expose and sweep aside all equivocal slogans of the Social Democrats, which always tend toward compromise. Whatever the turns in the course of the struggle, the Communist Party should always strive to fortify the contested positions, to get the masses used to active manouevering, to equip them with new methods calculated to lead to an open conflict with the enemy forces. Taking advantage of every breath-in space offered in order to appreciate the experience of the preceding phase of the struggle, the Communist Party should strive to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine them nationally and internationally by unity of goal and practical activity, and in this way, at the head of the proletariat, shatter all resistance on the road to its dictatorship and the social revolution.

## THESIS ON TACTICS

### 1. Definition of the Problem

"The new international labor organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal; the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth."

This definition of the aims of the Communist International, laid down in the statutes, distinctly defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. They are the tactical problems of our struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. They deal with the means of winning over the majority of the working class to the principles of Communism, of organizing the socially important elements of the proletariat in the struggle for its attainment, the attitude to be assumed toward the proletarianized petty-bourgeois elements, the way and means of disrupting the organs of bourgeois power, and destroying them. And they deal, finally, with the ultimate, international battle for the dictatorship. The problems of the dictatorship *per se*, as being the only way to victory, constitute no part of this discussion. The development of the world revolution has proved beyond any doubt that there is only a single alternative in the given historical situation, either capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. The Third Congress of the Communist International is proceeding to renewed investigation of the problems of tactics at a time when the objective situation in a number of countries has grown critically revolutionary, and a number of communist mass parties have come into being. None of these, however, can claim to possess the actual leadership of the majority of the working class in the real revolutionary struggle.

## 2. On the Eve of New Battles

The world revolution, i. e., the decay of capitalism, and the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, its organization into an aggressive, victorious power, will require a prolonged period of revolutionary struggle. The variations in the sharpness of the social antagonisms and in the social structures of the various countries, and therefore in the obstacles to be overcome, the high degree of organization of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, prevented the immediate victory of the world revolution as a result of the world war. *The Communists were therefore right in declaring, while the war was still raging, that the period of imperialism was developing into the epoch of social revolution, i. e., of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries, and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side.*

The world revolution is not a process following absolutely straight lines; on the contrary, the periods of the chronic decay of capitalism and the daily, revolutionary, undermining activity become at times acute, and develop into severe crises. The course of the world revolution was also retarded by strong labor organizations and labor parties, such as the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions, which, though established by the proletariat for the conduct of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, turned into organs for counter-revolutionary agitation and paralyzing of the proletariat during the war. They continued these practices after the war had ended. This made it easy for the world bourgeoisie to master the crisis during the period of demobilization, and to raise new hopes among the proletariat, during the sham prosperity of 1919-1920, of a possible improvement of conditions under capitalism. To these causes may be attributed the defeat of the revolts during 1919, and the protracted tempo of the revolutionary movements during 1919-1920.

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The universal economic crisis beginning in the middle of 1920 has since extended over the entire world. With increasing unemployment on every hand, it is proof to the international proletariat that the bourgeoisie is powerless to reconstruct the world, even capitalistically, that is, on the basis of exploitation. The aggravation of all international political conflicts, the French campaign to despoil Germany, the English-American and American-Japanese opposition of interests, and the consequent rivalry in the augmentation of armaments—all these facts show that the moribund capitalistic world is tumbling headlong into world war. Even the League of Nations, the international trust of the victorious states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples, has been disrupted by the English-American rivalry. The illusion by which international social democracy and trade union bureaucracy restrained the laboring masses from entering the revolutionary struggle, this illusion, that they could gradually and peacefully attain the economic power and consequent independence by the renunciation of all attempts to conquer political power in revolutionary combat, is being rapidly dissipated.

The socialization farces in Germany, by the aid of which the government of Scheidemann-Noske endeavored to hold the working class back from the attack in March, 1919, have come to an end. Socialization chatter has given way to Stinnesisation, the subjection of German industry to a capitalist dictator and his allied groups. The attack by the Prussian Government, led by the Social-Democrat Severing, on the miners of Middle Germany, is merely the prelude to a general attack by the German bourgeoisie, for the reduction of the wages of the German workers. In England all the nationalization schemes have evaporated into thin air. Instead of executing the nationalization plans of the Sankey Commission, the British Government is employing force to support the lock-out of the miners. In France, the government can only put off its inevitable economic bankruptcy by a predatory expedition against Germany. There is no ques-

tion in France of any systematic reconstruction. In fact, the rehabilitation of the devastated districts in Northern France, as far as it is being undertaken, only serves the enrichment of private capitalists. In Italy the bourgeoisie, aided by the white bands of the Fascisti, is waging an offensive against the working class. In every country, in the old states of bourgeois democracy, as well as in the new ones that have arisen out of the imperialistic collapse, bourgeois democracy has been forced to remove its mask. White Guards and dictatorial powers of the government in England against the miners' strike; Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy; Pinkertons, expulsion of Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch-Law in the United States; white terror in Yugoslavia, Latvia, Esthonia, Rumania, Finland, Poland, Hungary and the Balkan states; anti-Communist legislation in Switzerland, etc. *On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the working class with the consequences of the increased economic chaos; to lengthen the working hours and reduce wages. On every hand it receives assistance from the leaders of social democracy and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.* But they cannot hinder the awakening of the laboring masses to new strife nor can they stem the revolutionary tide. Even now we see the German proletariat preparing for the counter-attack and the English miners valiantly resisting for weeks in their battle against the mine-owning capitalists. And this in spite of the treachery of their trade union leaders! We see how the experience gained by the Italian proletariat in respect to the vacillating policy of the Serrati group, is developing in its front ranks the will to fight, finding expression in the organization of the Communist Party of Italy. In France we see how the Socialist Party, after the split by which the social-patriots and centrists were eliminated, begins to proceed from Communist agitation and propaganda to mass demonstrations against imperialistic piracy. In Czecho-Slovakia we witness the political December strike, embracing a million workers in spite of the complete lack of unity in organization and the



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resulting organization of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party as a mass organization. In Poland we had the railroad strike of February under the leadership of the Communist Party and the general strike which arose out of this, and we are now witnessing the continual process of disintegration which is affecting the social-patriotic Socialist Party of Poland. What we are confronted with then is not the waning of the world revolution, but on the contrary, the aggravation of social antagonisms and social struggles and the transition to open civil war.

### 3. The Important Task of the Present.

In view of these imminent new struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence on the most important sections of the working class, in short, the leadership of the struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International. For, despite the present objective revolutionary economic and political situation wherein the acutest revolutionary crisis may arise suddenly (whether in the form of a big strike, or a colonial upheaval, or a new war, or even a severe parliamentary crisis) the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of Communism. Particularly is this true in such countries, as for example, England and America, where large strata of workers depending for their existence on the power of finance-capital are corrupted by imperialism, and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International distinctly and clearly devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the struggle of the laboring masses, of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting, during the struggle, great, revolutionary communist mass parties. It did not aim to establish small Communist sects which would attempt to influence the masses solely by propaganda and agitation. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies. It called upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to enter the unions and from

within overcome the reactionary trade union bureaucracy in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of the struggle. *In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International called upon the Communist Parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilize every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organization of the proletariat: Free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they may be, forging them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering center for Communism.* At its Second Congress, the Communist International publicly repudiated sectarian tendencies, by the resolutions it adopted on the questions of trade unionism and the utilization of parliamentarism. The experience gained in the two years' struggle of the Communist Parties has completely corroborated the correctness of this standpoint of the Communist International. By its tactics, the Communist International has succeeded in separating the revolutionary workers in a number of countries, not only from the reformists, but also from the centrists. The formation by the centrist elements of a two and a half International, which united itself with the Scheidemanns, Jouhaux and Hendersons on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, clarified the issues of the struggle for the proletarian masses and lightened its task. Thanks to the policy of the Communist International revolutionary work in the trade unions, open declarations to the masses, etc., German Communism has been transformed from a mere political group, such as it was when it entered the struggles of January and March, 1919, into a great revolutionary mass-party. The influence it has gained in the trade unions has provoked the trade union bureaucracy into expelling numerous Communists from the trade unions because of their fear of the revolutionary effect of Communist activity in the unions and has compelled them to assume the odium and responsibility of splitting the organizations. In Czecho-Slovakia, the Com-

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munists have succeeded in rallying to their colors the majority of the politically-organized workers. As a result of its undermining activities in the trade unions, the Polish Communist Party, in spite of the untold persecutions which have driven it to work exclusively "underground," has not lost its contact with the masses for a moment, but has, on the contrary, exceedingly augmented its influence. In France, the Communists have secured the majority in the Socialist Party. In England, the process of consolidation of the Communist groups on the basis of the Communist International is proceeding rapidly. The growing influence of the Communists has forced the social-traitors to close the doors of the Labor Party to them. The sectarian groups, such as the C. L. P. of Germany; on the contrary, were unable to win even the slightest success with their methods. *The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda and agitation and by the organization of separate Communist trade unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party of any influence arisen in this way.*

### The U. S.

In the United States of North America, where on account of historical circumstances, there was a total lack of broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the communists are confronted with the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of work, affords very favorable soil for this kind of work. Conscious of the imminent danger of a radicalized labor movement becoming subject to communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young communist movement by means of barbarous persecution. The Communist Party was forced into an illegalized existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. *The Communist International draws the attention of*

*the united Communist Party of America to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only serve as the ground for collecting and crystallizing the active communist forces, but that it is the party's duty to try all ways and means to get out of the illegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses. It is the duty of the Communist Party to find the means and forms to unite these masses politically, through public activity, for the struggle against American capitalism.*

### England

The English Communist movement has also fallen short of becoming the Party of the masses, despite the concentration of their forces.

The continued disorganization of English industry, the unprecedented acuteness of the strike movement, the growing discontent among the widest masses of the people with the regime of Lloyd George, the possibility of a Labor and Liberal victory at the next General Election—all these circumstances open new revolutionary perspectives in England's development, confronting the English communists with questions of the greatest importance.

The first and foremost task of the English Communist Party is, to become the Party of the masses. The English communists must take the firmest stand upon the actually existing and ever developing mass-movement. They must permeate all its concrete manifestations and convert desultory and partial demands of the workers into issues for their own untiring agitation and propaganda.

The mighty strike movement puts to the test the ability, reliability, steadfastness and conscientiousness of the trade-union machinery and leaders in the eyes of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. Under these circumstances the work of the Communists within the trade-unions becomes of decisive importance. No party influence from the outside can exercise even the smallest part of that influence which the constant daily work of communist nuclei in the workshops can exercise by persistently unmasking and discredit-

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ing the traitors and betrayers of trade-unionism. In England, more than in any other country, have the latter become the political tool of capitalism.

While in other countries the task of the communist parties which have become mass-parties consists in seizing to a great extent the initiative in mass action, the task of the Communist Party in England consists first of all in proving and demonstrating to the masses on the basis of their actual experience of present-day mass-actions, that the communists can correctly and courageously express the interests, needs and sentiments of these masses.

### Central Western Europe

The Communist mass-parties of Middle and Western Europe are in the process of evolving the necessary methods of revolutionary propaganda and agitation, and of working out methods of organization which would correspond to the nature of their struggle, and are in the process of transition from communist propaganda and agitation to action. This process is hindered by the fact that in a number of countries the revolutionizing of the workers going over to the communist camp took place under the guidance of leaders who either have failed to overcome their centrist tendencies and are incapable of conducting a real popular communist agitation and propaganda, or are simply afraid because they know that this agitation and propaganda will lead the workers to revolutionary struggles.

### Italy

These centrist tendencies have caused a split in the party in *Italy*. The party and trade-union leaders of the Serrati group, instead of transforming the spontaneous action of the working classes and their growing activity, into the conscious struggle for power for which the situation was ripe in *Italy*, have allowed these movements to become stranded. They turned their backs on Communism which would have shaken

the working masses out of their lethargy and united them for the struggle. And because they were afraid of the struggle, they diluted the communist propaganda and agitation and led it into centrist channels. In this manner they strengthened the influence of the Centrists, like Turati and Treves in the party, and like D'aragona in the trade unions. Because they did not differ from the centrists either in word or in deed, they would not part company with them. They preferred to part company with the Communists. The Serrati policy, while on the one hand increasing the influence of the reformists, on the other hand increased the danger of the influence of the Anarchists and Syndicalists, and of the danger of the creation of tendencies toward anti-parliamentary and mere revolutionary phrase-mongering within the party. The split at Livorno, the forming of the Italian Communist Party, the rallying of all the really communist elements on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International into a united Communist Party will make Communism a live force among the masses in Italy, if the Italian Communist Party will only maintain an unbending front against the opportunistic policy of the Serrati school and will succeed in identifying itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in fights against the counter-revolutionary Fascisti, in consolidating their movements, in converting their spontaneous actions into carefully planned struggle.

### France

In France, where first the chauvinist poison of "national defense" and then the shouts of Victory were stronger than in any other country, the reaction against war developed much slower than in the other countries. The majority of the French Socialist Party developed in the direction of Communism even before being confronted with decisive questions of revolutionary action through the development of events. This new orientation was due to the moral influence of the Russian Revolution, to the revolutionary strug-

gles in the capitalist countries and to the first experience of the French proletariat in its own struggles with the treason of its leaders. The French Communist Party will be able to make the best and fullest use of this advantageous position, insofar as it will be able to liquidate in its own ranks—particularly among the leading circles—the remnants of national pacifist and parliamentary-reformist ideology. The party must reach the masses and their most oppressed strata in a far larger degree than it has done in the past or is being done at present; it must give clear, complete and uncompromising expression to the sufferings and needs of these masses. In its parliamentary activity the party must decisively break with all the ugly, hypocritical formalities of French parliamentarism which have been deliberately nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to muzzle and intimidate and hypnotize the representatives of the working class. The representatives of the Communist Party in Parliament must tear the veil from the bourgeois tradition of national democracy and revolution, presenting it point-blank as a question of class-interest and irreconcilable class-struggle.

The agitation of the party must assume a more concentrated, strenuous and energetic form. It must not dissolve itself in the changeable and variable political situations and combinations of the day. It must draw the same fundamental revolutionary conclusions from all events, big and small, bringing them home to the most backward working masses. Only through such a truly revolutionary attitude will the Communist Party avoid the appearance—as well as the reality—of being a mere left-wing of that radical Longuet bloc which with ever increasing energy and success places itself at the service of bourgeois society, to protect the latter against those upheavals which are made inevitable in France by the sheer logic of events. These decisive revolutionary events may come sooner or they may come later, but a determined revolutionary Communist Party, inspired by a revolutionary will, can even now, during the

preparatory stage, mobilize the working masses on economic and political grounds, and broaden and clarify all their present struggles.

The attempts of the impatient and the politically inexperienced to apply extreme methods, which by their very nature are methods of decisive proletarian revolution, to simple questions (e. g., the calling upon the recruits of the year 1919 to resist mobilization, the proposal for the forcible prevention of the occupation of Luxemburg, etc.) contain elements of most dangerous adventurism. If applied such tactics would put off for a long time the real revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the conquest of power. That adventurism, which by its very nature forms no clear conception of the purposes of mass-action and the difficulties in the way, merely brings sickly and oftentimes deadly premature travail instead of the revolution. It is the duty of the French Communist Party, and indeed of all other Communist parties, to reject such highly dangerous methods.

*To increase the union of the Party with the masses means above all a closer alliance with the workers' organizations. The task does not at all consist in mechanically and outwardly subjecting the unions to the Party and thereby denying them the autonomy required by the very nature of their work, but in the truly revolutionary, communist elements within the unions giving them that direction which answers the general interests of the proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of power.* In view of these considerations, it is the duty of the French Communist Party to criticize in friendly but firm and unmistakable manner those anarcho-syndicalist tendencies which reject the Proletarian dictatorship and which do not admit the necessity of uniting its vanguard in a centralized leading organization—the Communist Party. The Party should also pursue such a policy towards those syndicalist tendencies which under the cloak of the Charter of Amiens, drawn up eight years previous to the war, now



refuse to give a clear and outspoken answer to the fundamental questions of the new, post-bellum epoch.

The amalgamation of the revolutionary-syndicalist groups within the unions with the Communist organization as a whole is an indispensable preliminary condition for every earnest struggle of the French proletariat.

To render harmless and remove those adventurous tendencies, and to overcome the nebulous principles and organizational separatism of the revolutionary syndicalists, it is imperatively necessary that the Party itself—as already said—should by real revolutionary handling of every question of daily life and struggle make itself the irresistible centre of gravitation for the working masses of France.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the workers in the course of two and a half years have freed themselves from a great deal of reformist and nationalistic illusions. In September of last year the majority of the social-democratic workers broke away from their reformist leaders. In December already a million workers out of Czechoslovakia's three and a half million industrial workers were in the midst of revolutionary mass-action against the Czechoslovak capitalist government. In May of this year the Czechoslovak Communist Party of 350,000 members was formed. In addition there is the German-Bohemian Communist Party which numbers 60,000 members. The communists thus not only represent a great portion of the Czechoslovak proletariat, but also of the entire population of the country. The Czechoslovak Party now stands before the task of gaining the adherence of even wider working masses through real communist agitation, in order to train the masses by clear and uncompromising communist propaganda, to form a solid front by a union of the workers of all the peoples of Czechoslovakia, against the nationalists who are the main instrument of the bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia. It is the task of the Party to make the proletarian force thus created strong and invincible in all its future struggles against the oppressive tendencies of capitalism and the government. The quickness with which the

Czechoslovak Communist Party will master these tasks depends upon the clearness and determination with which it will do away with all centrist traditions and moods which found their expression in the Smeral policy. They should follow the advice given by their best imprisoned comrades, Muna, Kuls, Sabototsky and by the Communist International and conduct such a policy as will educate and revolutionize the masses, organize and equip them for action and victorious consummation. [Copy 1st]

### **The United Communist Party of Germany**

*The United Communist Party of Germany*, formed by a union of the Spartakusbund with the left Independent working masses, although already a mass-party, stands before the task of raising and strengthening its influence among the wide masses, winning the proletarian mass-organizations—the trade-unions—and dispelling the influence of the social-democratic party and the trade-unionist bureaucracy. This main task demands that the Party base its whole agitation—propaganda and organization work—upon acquiring the sympathies of the majority of the workers. Without this, in the presence of strongly organized capital, no communist victory in Germany is possible. For this task the Party was not quite ripe as yet, both regarding the scope of its agitation and its content. Nor did it understand how to consistently continue the road it had started upon when it published the "Open Letter," the road of opposing the practical interests of the Proletariat to the treacherous policy of the social-democratic parties and the trade-union bureaucracy. Its press and its organization are still rather too strongly marked by the stamp of decentralized associations, not of militant organs and solid organization. Those centrist tendencies which found their expression therein, unsubdued as yet, have driven the Party to the necessity of throwing down the gauntlet without due preparation for the battle, and on the other hand rather obscured the necessity of close spiritual association with the non-communist masses. The problems of

action which are soon to confront the United German Communist Party, through the process of disintegration of German economy, and through the offensive started by capital against the very existence of the working masses, can be solved only if the Party will not consider the problems of agitation and organization as opposed to those of action and deeds, but will rather make its agitation a real popular force, building its organization in such a manner that the Party by its close association with the masses shall develop the ability to constantly and carefully weigh the military situation and carefully prepare for the struggles.

The parties of the Communist International become revolutionary mass-parties if they overcome the remnants and traditions of opportunism in their ranks by seeking close association with the struggling working masses and by drawing their problems from the practical struggles of the Proletariat. These struggles act as an antidote to opportunistic clouding of irreconcilable social contrasts, and reject all revolutionary catch-phrases which obstruct the view into the real relation of the contending forces and which permit the difficulties of the struggle to be overlooked. The communist parties have arisen from the breaking up of the old social-democratic parties. This break-up resulted from the fact that these parties have betrayed the interests of the proletariat in the war and have continued the betrayal after the war, by alliances with the bourgeoisie or by conducting a tame policy and shirking the fight. The fundamentals of the Communist Party form the only basis upon which the working masses can reunite, because they express the necessities of the proletarian struggle. It is because of this fact, that the social-democratic parties and tendencies seek the splitting up and division of the proletariat—while the communist parties are a uniting force. In Germany it was the centrists who broke away from the majority of their Party, after the latter had rallied to the banner of Communism. Fearing the uniting influence of Communism, the German social-democrats in league with the social-democratic trade-unions re-

fused to go with the communists in joint actions for the defence of even the elementary interests of the proletariat. In Czechoslovakia, again, it was the social-democrats who fled the old party on perceiving the triumph of Communism. In France the Longuet group seceded from the majority of the French socialist workers, while the Communist party acts as a rallying ground for socialist and syndicalist workers. In England it was the reformists and the centrists that drove the communists out of the Labor Party, for fear of their influence. Even now they continue sabotaging the unification of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. The Communist Parties thus become the standard-bearers of the unifying process of the proletariat, on the basis of the struggle for its interests. From this consciousness of their role they will draw and gather new forces.

### 5. Partial Struggles and Partial Demands.

The development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. *Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with mere propaganda. In all proletarian mass organizations they must constitute the vanguard, which must teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight, by formulating practical plans for direct action, and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life.* Only in this manner will Communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. Only in case they prove able to lead the practical struggle for the proletariat, only in case they can promote these conflicts, will the Communists succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.

The entire propaganda and agitation as well as the other work of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism, and that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a prerequisite for the achievement of such betterment and the rebuilding of the social structure

destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social-democracy is consciously deceiving the masses, when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, when capitalism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well fed slaves, it has nothing better to offer than the old social-democratic program of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of its disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social-democrats and reformists of all lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their own programs. The demand for socialization or nationalization of the most important industries is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. *Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalization alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the chief industries, but they also endeavored to divert the workers from the real and live struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of industry, to be followed by "systematic" economic reconstruction.* Thus they have reverted to the minimum social-democratic program of the reform of capitalism, which once an illusion, has now become an open counter-revolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists, that the program of the nationalization of the coal or any other industry is based on the Lassalian theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever i. revolutionary action, which in its development would lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words. The suffering of the working class in every country is so intense, that it is impossible to direct the struggle against these

blows, which are coming thick and fast, into narrow doctrinarian channels. *On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution.* For this struggle, the Communist Parties have no minimum program for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the system of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfilment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.

What the Communist Parties have to consider is not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the wide proletarian masses, if these masses are convinced that they cannot exist without the realization of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. *The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat and demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.*

### Broadening the Fight

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, as the needs of the masses clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realize that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realization of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the Communist Parties to widen, to deepen and to co-ordinate these struggles which have been brought into

being by the formulation of concrete demands. As the partial struggles of isolated groups of workers gradually merge into a general struggle of labor versus capital, so the Communist Party must also alter its watchword, which would be —“uncompromising overthrow of the enemy.” In formulating their partial demands the Communist Parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organize the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be assimilated to the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organization of social economy under capitalism, but of an organization fighting against capitalism through workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade-unions.

It is only through the establishment of such workers' committees and their co-ordination according to branches and centres of industry, that Communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social-democrats and the trade-union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfil this role only if they are born in an economic struggle in the interests of wide masses of workers, and provided they succeed in uniting all the revolutionary sections of the proletariat—the communist party, the revolutionary workers and those trade-unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

*Every objection to the establishment of such partial demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these partial struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to partial demands are and how divorced they are from the*

needs of revolutionary life, is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organizations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating partial demands, in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to. They have also been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle, even for these very modest demands, is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism. . . .

While the capitalists make use of the ever increasing army of the unemployed as a lever against the organized workers for the forcing down of wages, the Social-Democrats, the Independents and official trade-union leaders maintain a cowardly aloofness from the unemployed. They consider them mere objects of state and trade-union charity and despise them politically as *Lumpen-Proletariat*. The Communists must clearly understand that under the present circumstances the unemployed represent a revolutionary factor of gigantic significance. The communists must take upon themselves the leadership of this army. By bringing the pressure of the unemployed to bear upon the trade-unions, the communists must seek to effect the rejuvenation of the latter, and above all their liberation from the treacherous leaders. By uniting the unemployed with the proletarian vanguards in the struggle for the social-revolution, the Communist Party will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable the entire mass to actively support, under favorable circumstances, the struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of present conflict and making this conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive—in a word, this entire mass will be transformed from a mere reserve army of industry into an active army of the Revolution.



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The Communist Parties, in energetically supporting this section of the workers (now low down in the scale of labor) stand up, not for the interests of one section of workers, as opposed to those of other sections, but for the common good of the entire working class betrayed by the counter-revolutionary leaders in the interests of the labor aristocracy. The more workers in the ranks of the unemployed and part time employed, the quicker their interests become transformed into the common interests of the entire working class. The momentary interests of the labor aristocracy must be subordinated to those common interests. Those who plead the interests of the labor aristocracy, in order to arouse their hostility to the unemployed, or in order to leave the latter to their own devices, are splitting the working class and are acting in a counter-revolutionary manner. The Communist Party, as the representative of the common interests of the working class, cannot rest content with merely recognizing those common interests and using them for propaganda purposes. To effectively represent the workers, the party must, under certain conditions, undertake to lead the bulk of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers into action, in order to break down the resistance of the labor aristocracy.

The character of the transition period makes it imperative for all Communist Parties to be thoroughly prepared for the struggle. Each separate struggle may lead to the struggle for power. Preparedness can only be achieved by giving to the entire Party agitation the character of a vehement attack against capitalist society. The Party must also come into contact with the widest masses of workers, and must make it plain to them that they are being led by a vanguard, whose real aim is—the conquest of power. The Communist press and proclamations must not merely consist of theoretical proofs that Communism is right. They must be clarion calls of the proletarian revolution. The parliamentary activity of the Communists must not consist in debates with the enemy, or in attempts to convert him, but in the ruthless unmasking of the agents of the bourgeoisie and the

stirring up of the fighting spirit of the working masses and in attracting the semi-proletarian and the petty bourgeois strata of society to the proletariat. Our organizing work in the trade-unions, as well as in the party organizations, must not consist in mechanically increasing the number of our membership. It must be imbued with the consciousness of the coming struggle. It is only in becoming, in all its forms and manifestations, the embodiment of the will to fight, that the Party will be able to fulfil its task, when the time for drastic action will have arrived.

Wherever the Communist Party represents a mass power, wherever its influence is felt among large sections of the workers, it becomes its duty to rouse the masses to action. Mass parties can not rest content with criticizing the shortcomings of other parties and opposing their demands by communist demands. They, as a mass party, are responsible for the development of the revolution. Wherever the position of the workers becomes increasingly unbearable, the Communist Parties must do their utmost to make the working masses join in the struggle for their own interests. *In view of the fact that in Western Europe and in America the workers are organized in trade unions and political parties, and hence spontaneous movements are for the time being out of the question, it is the duty of the Communist parties to endeavor, by means of their influence in the trade unions, by increased pressure on other parties connected with the working masses, to bring about the struggle for the achievement of the immediate needs of the proletariat.* Should non-communist parties be pressed into this struggle, it will become the duty of communists to warn the masses in good time against the possibility of betrayal by the non-communistic elements in later stages of the struggle, and to make the conflict as acute and far-reaching as possible, in order to eventually be able to carry on the fight independently. We can refer to the open letter of the V. K. P. D. which may provide an example of the prerequisite of direct action.

Should the pressure of the Communist Party in the Trade

Unions and the press not be strong enough to rouse the proletariat to a united front, it will become the duty of the Communist Party to endeavor to lead the masses into the struggle. The latter policy will be successful, and will lead to the awakening of the backward masses, when it will become clear to them that our aims are their aims, although they are not yet able to put up a fight for them.

However, the Communist Party must not rest content with merely warding off the dangers threatening the proletariat and meeting the blows directed against it. In the period of world Revolution, its role consists in attacking and storming the strongholds of capitalist society. Its duty consists in transforming every defensive into an offensive against capitalist society. Wherever circumstances permit, the Communist Party should also do its utmost to assume the leadership of the working masses in such attacks.

Such circumstances are, first and foremost, the growing strife and dissensions in the ranks of the national and international bourgeoisie. Should these dissensions bring disintegration into the enemy's ranks, then it would become the duty of the Communist Party to take the initiative and lead the masses to attack, after careful political and, if possible, organizational preparation. Strong ferment in the ranks of the more responsible and important workers, would also justify the Party to assume the leadership of the offensive against a capitalist government on a wide front. Whilst it is the duty of the Communist Party to inspire and lead the masses to attack, it should also bear in mind that, in the event of retreat, it becomes imperative for the Party to prevent panic and to lead the workers out of the fray in perfect order.

The attitude of the Communist Party to the question of offence and defence depends entirely on concrete circumstances. What really matters is that it should be animated by the fighting spirit which will overcome the centrist spirit of "wait and see" in the foremost ranks of workers, by means of agitation, organization and readiness to fight. This

fighting spirit and will to attack must be a feature of the communist mass parties, not only because, as such it is their duty to lead in the fight, but also because of the present decay of capitalism and the ever-growing misery of the masses. It is essential to shorten the period of decay, in order to prevent the destruction of the material basis of Communism, and in order to preserve the energy of the working masses.

### **7. The Lesson of Actions of March.**

The action of last March was forced upon the V. K. P. D. (United German Communist Party) by the Government's attack upon the proletariat of Middle-Germany.

In stoutly defending the workers of Middle Germany, the V. K. P. D. has shown itself to be the Party of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. In this first great struggle, which it had to sustain immediately after its formation, the V. K. P. D. committed a number of mistakes, of which the chief one was that it did not clearly understand the defensive nature of the struggle, but by the call for the attack gave the opportunity to the unscrupulous enemies of the proletariat—the S. P. D. and the U. S. P. D.—to denounce the V. K. P. D. in the eyes of the proletariat as the aggressor. This mistake was further amplified by a number of Party theorists who represented the offensive as the principal means of the campaign of the V. K. P. D. in the present situation. This mistake has already been repudiated by official party organs, notably by its chairman, Com. Brandler. The Congress of the Communist International considers the March action of the V. K. P. D. as a step forward. The March action was a heroic battle of hundreds of thousands of workers against the bourgeoisie. It is of the opinion, that in order to ensure greater success for its mass-actions the V. K. P. D. must in the future better adapt its slogans to the actual situation, giving the most careful study to the situation and conducting their actions in the most uniform manner.

For the purpose of carefully weighing the possibilities of

the struggle, the V. K. P. D. must attentively listen to the voices which point out the difficulties of the actions and carefully examine their reasons for urging caution. *But as soon as an action is decided upon by the Party authorities, all comrades must submit to the decisions of the Party and carry out the action.* Criticism of the action must commence only after its completion and be practiced only within the party organizations, giving due consideration to the situation wherein the Party had found itself in the face of the enemy. Since Levi did disregard these obvious demands of Party discipline and the conditions of Party criticism, the Congress approves his expulsion from the Party and declares it inadmissible for any members of the Communist International to co-operate politically with him.

### **8. The Forms and Means of Direct Action**

The forms and means of action, its extent and the question of offensive or defensive, are bound up with certain conditions which cannot be created at will. The experience of the revolution has shown us various forms of partial actions.

1. The partial actions on the part of sections of the proletariat (the action of miners, railway men, etc., in Germany, and of land workers in England, etc.).

2. The partial actions of the whole proletariat for limited objects, (the action of the days of the Kapp-Putsch, the action of the English miners against the military intervention of the British government in the Russo-Polish war).

These partial actions may extend over separate districts, over whole countries and over a series of countries simultaneously. All these forms of action will in all countries be intermingled in the course of the revolution. The Communist Party cannot discard actions which are limited to a certain area, but it must strive to turn every important local proletarian action into a universal struggle. Just as we are bound to raise the whole working class in defence of the struggling workers of a single branch of industry wherever

possible, we are also bound to rouse the workers of all the industrial centres to lend their help to the struggling workers of a whole district or area. The experience of revolution teaches us that the greater the area of the struggle, the greater the prospect of victory. The bourgeoisie relies, in its struggle against the rising world revolution, partly on the White Guard organizations, and partly on the fact that the working class is scattered, and that its front is built up very slowly. The greater the number of workers who join in the battle, the greater the fighting area, the more must the enemy divide and scatter his forces. Even when the other sections of workers, who are anxious to help the oppressed part of the proletariat, are temporarily not in a position to support it with all their might, their very movement forces the capitalist to divide his forces, for the latter are unable to fathom to what extent the other part of the proletariat will be able to take part in the struggle and render it more acute.

In the course of the past year, during which we saw the ever increasing arrogance of the capitalist offensive against the workers, we observed that the bourgeoisie in all countries, not satisfied with the normal activity of its state organs, created legal and semi-legal though state-protected White-Guard organizations, which played a decisive part in every big economic or industrial conflict.

In Germany it is the Orgesch, backed by the government, which includes all Party colorings from Stinnes to Scheidemann.

In Italy it is the Fascisti, whose depredations effected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie, giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces.

In England—to combat the strikers—the Lloyd George government appealed for volunteers, whose task it was to defend property and so-called “free-labor” by means of blacklegging and wanton destruction of workers’ centres.

In France the leading semi-official newspaper, “Temps,” inspired by the Millerand clique, conducts a vigorous cam-

paign for the reinforcement of the already existing "Civic Leagues" and for the introduction of Fascisti methods to French soil.

The organizations of strike-breakers and cut-throats, which are an old-time embellishment of American democracy, have now acquired a leading organ in the so-called "American Legion," made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war.

The bourgeoisie, though apparently conscious of its power and actually bragging about its stability, knows through its leading governments quite well, that it has merely obtained a breathing spell and that under the present circumstances every big strike has the tendency to develop into civil war and the immediate struggle for the possession of power.

In the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive it is the duty of the communists not only to take the advanced posts and lead those engaged in the struggle to a complete understanding of the fundamental revolutionary tasks, but it is also their duty, relying upon the best and most active elements among the workers, to create their own workers legions and militant organizations which would resist the pacifists and teach the "golden youth" of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will break them of the strike-breaking habit.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the counter-revolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question, organizing a thorough-going educational and communication service which shall keep under constant observation the military organs and forces of the enemy, his headquarters, his arsenals, the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press and the political parties, and work out all the necessary details of defence and counter-attack.

The Communist Party must in this manner convince the the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary com-

bination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the Proletariat to conquer the power of the state.

With regard to acts of White Terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not to be deceived, during crises, by an enemy appeal to their leniency, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers. *But in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilized by agitation, political campaigns and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages.* Individual acts of terrorism, however they may demonstrate the revolutionary rancor of the masses, however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic flunkys, are in no way apt to raise the workers to a higher level of organization, or make them better prepared to face the struggle. Acts of sabotage are only justified when they can only serve the purpose of hindering the despatch of enemy troops against the workers, and of conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat.

### 9. Relation to the Semi-Proletarian Elements.

In Western Europe there is no other important class besides the proletariat, which might become a determining factor in the world revolution. But it is different in Russia, where the peasantry, owing to the war and lack of land were predestined to become a determining revolutionary fighting element next to the working class. But even in Western Europe a part of the peasantry, a considerable section of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns, the numerous so-called "new middle-class," the office workers, etc., are sinking into ever worse conditions of life. Under the pressure of the high cost of living, housing difficulties, and the insecurity of their positions, these masses are beginning to pass through a process of fermentation, which draws them out of their political inactivity, and drags them into the revolutionary and



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counter-revolutionary struggle. The bankruptcy of imperialism in the defeated countries, the bankruptcy of pacifism and social reform in the victorious countries, drives some of these middle-class elements into the camp of open counter-revolution, and others into the revolutionary camp. The Communist Party is bound to bestow increasing attention to these elements. The winning over of the small farmers to the ideas of Communism, and the organization of the agricultural workers, are prerequisite conditions for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship. Then we shall be able to bring the revolution from industrial centres down to the country districts. And this will enable us to capture the most important strongholds, and thus solve the food question, that vital question for the revolution. The acquisition of large groups of technical and commercial employees and intellectuals would make it easier for the proletarian dictatorship to master the problems of technique and organization in the transition period from capitalism to communism. It will cause disintegration in the enemy ranks and will do away with the traditional notion that the workers are isolated. *The Communist Parties have to keep alive the fermentation among the petty-bourgeoisie, in order to utilize it in the most appropriate way, even though it does not lose its petty-bourgeois illusions.* Those of the intellectuals and employees who free themselves from these illusions must be taken up in the proletarian ranks, and made use of for the purpose of organizing such petty-bourgeois masses.

The economic ruin and consequent disorganization of national finance, force the bourgeoisie to doom even the basic support of its governmental apparatus, the middle and lower officials, to gradual impoverishment. The economic movement on the part of these elements affects the very root of bourgeois society. Though this movement may temporarily abate, it will be as impossible for the bourgeois state to preserve this administrative foundation (the officials), as it is impossible for capital to grant fair conditions to its wage slaves while insisting on the preservation of its system of ex-

ploitation. The Communist Parties, by espousing the cause of the lower and middle, officialdom, and by helping it economically, irrespective of the state of public finance, will do most effective preliminary work for the destruction of bourgeois institutions and the preparation of the elements requisite for the superstructure of the proletarian state.

#### 10. International Coordination of Action

In order to break the front of the international counter-revolution, in order to make use of the combined forces of the Communist International, and bring nearer the victory of the revolution, we must strive, with all our energy, for united international leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The conditions essential to this are the political and organizational centralization of the component elements of the Communist International, the doing away with the autonomy-trickery of the opportunist, the creation of an appropriate political organization of the executive of the Communist International and of its entire machinery. The Congress believes that the Communist International must not confine itself to mere demonstrations on a world-wide scale, as advocated by the Two and a Half International, or launched by the various sections of the Communist International under the same slogans. As the situation in various countries becomes more acute, the Communist International must strive to co-ordinate and combine the action of all the affiliated sections or of any group of sections with the working masses which they control. The Congress takes into account the national peculiarities according to countries or groups of countries, the differences in the conditions under which the struggles take place, the strength of the enemy, and the fighting ability and strength of the revolutionary forces. But the nearer we get to uniform international fighting leadership, the more necessary it becomes to harmonize the forms of organization and tactics of the affiliated sections.

The Communist International imposes on all Communist Parties the duty to support each other most energetically in the struggle. The growing economic conflicts demand the

immediate intervention of the proletariat of other countries. The Communists must carry on diligent propaganda in the trade unions, to prevent not only the importation of strike-breakers, but also the exportation of goods of those countries where a considerable part of the workers are engaged in battle. In cases where the capitalist government of one country perpetrates outrages against another country by trying to plunder or subjugate it, the Communist Parties must not only protest, but do all in their power to prevent such a pillaging campaign. The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the demonstration of the French Communists as a beginning of their action against the counter-revolutionary predatory aspiration of French capital. It reminds them of their duty to work assiduously in this direction, to make the French soldiers in the occupied territories realize that they are playing the part of watch-dogs of French capital, and to induce them to rebel against the disgraceful duties imposed on them.

It is the duty of the French nation conscious of the fact that by suffering the formation of a French army of occupation, and tolerating its permeation by a nationalistic spirit, it forges its own chains. In the occupied territories of Germany troops are being drilled, in order to be subsequently let loose against the French working class and to murder it in cold blood. The French Communist Party is faced by the special problem of the presence of black troops in France and the occupied territories. The French are thus able to approach these colonial slaves, to explain to them that they are serving their oppressors and exploiters, to rouse them to a fight against the regime of the colonizers, and to establish connections with the colonial peoples through this medium. The German Communist Party must clearly explain to the German workers, that no struggle against spoliation by Entente capital is possible without the overthrow of the German capitalist government, which in spite of all its outbursts against the Entente, is the taskmaster and agent of the Entente capital. The V. K. P.

of Germany will be able to induce the workers of France to fight their imperialism only if it takes up the dauntless, ruthless struggle against the German Government and thereby proves that it is not anxious to provide a loop-hole for bankrupt German imperialism, but wishes to clear the ground of the ruins of German imperialism.

The Communist International denounced before the world's Proletariat the indemnity demands of entente capitalism as a campaign of spoliation directed against the workers of the vanquished countries. It brandmarked the cowardly capitulation to Bourse interests by the Longuet followers in France and the Independents in Germany who were pleading that this spoliation be done in a gentler fashion and less painfully for the workers. This indicates to the French and German proletariat that the only way for the reconstruction of the devastated provinces, the indemnification of the widows and orphans, lies in calling the proletariat of both countries to the common struggle against their exploiters.

The German working class can help the Russian in its hard struggle, if by a victorious combat it will precipitate the union of agricultural Russia and industrial Germany.

It is the duty of Communist Parties of all countries taking part in the subjugation and partition of Turkey, to do their best toward revolutionizing these armies. The Communist Parties of the Balkan countries must strain all the efforts of their mass parties to hasten their victory. The victory of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria and Serbia which will cause the downfall of the shameful Horthy regime, and facilitate the liquidation of Roumanian Boyar rule, would create an economic basis for the Italian Revolution and protect it against a blockade by England. The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries. Not only must they act resolutely against any attacks on Soviet Russia, but they must also struggle to do away with all the obstacles placed by capitalist states in the way of Russia's communication with the world.

market and all other nations. Only if Soviet Russia succeeds in reconstructing economic life, in mitigating the terrible misery caused by the three years of imperialist war and three years of civil war, only when Soviet Russia will have contrived to raise the efficiency of the masses of its population, will it be in a position, in the future, to assist the western proletarian States with food and raw material, and protect them against being enslaved by American Capital. The International political task of the Communist International consists not in demonstrations on special occasions, but in the permanent increase of the international relations of the Communists, in their ceaseless struggle in closed formation. It is impossible to foretell at what front the proletariat will succeed in breaking the capitalist lines, whether it will be in capitalist Germany with its workers who are most cruelly oppressed by the German and the Entente bourgeoisie, and are faced by the alternative of either winning or dying, or in the agrarian southwest, or in Italy, where the decay of the bourgeoisie has reached an advanced stage. It is therefore the duty of the Communist International to intensify its efforts on all the sectors of the workers' world front, and it is the duty of the Communist Parties to support with all their means the decisive battles of each section of the Communist International. This must be achieved by immediately widening and deepening all international conflicts in every other country, as soon as a great struggle breaks out in any one country.

### **11. Decline of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals.**

The third year of the Communist International witnessed the further decline of the Social Democratic Parties, and the loss of influence and unmasking of the reformist Trade Union leaders. During the last year, however, they have attempted to organize themselves and proceed to an attack on the Communist International. In England the leaders of the Labor Party and the Trade Unions proved, during the

coal strike, that they consider their only task to be the pre-meditated destruction of the workers' front, which is in the process of formation, and the conscious defence of capital against labor. *The breakdown of the Triple Alliance is proof that the reformist Trade Union leaders do not even wish to struggle for the improvement of the labor conditions within the limits of the present capitalist system.*

In Germany, the Social-Democratic Party, after withdrawing from the Government, proved that it was no longer able to carry on even agitational opposition of the pre-war kind. Every one of its oppositional actions was carefully calculated not to elicit any struggles of the working class. Although apparently in the opposition in the Reichstag, Social-Democracy organized a campaign in Prussia against the Middle-German miners, for the confessed purpose of provoking an armed combat before the Communist battle-front could be organized. In the face of the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie to the Entente, in the face of the undeniable fact that the German bourgeoisie is only able to carry out the dictates of the Entente by making the living conditions of the German proletariat absolutely unbearable, German Social-Democracy re-entered the Government in order to aid the bourgeoisie in turning the German proletarians into helots. In Czecho-Slovakia, Social-Democracy is mobilizing the military and police to deprive the Communist workers of their houses and institutions. By its policy of prevarication, the Polish Socialist Party is abetting Pilsudsky in the organization of his predatory campaign against Soviet Russia. It lends its services to the Government in throwing thousands of Communists into prison and attempts to drive them out of the trade unions, in which they are gaining more and more hold, in spite of all persecutions. The Belgian socialists retain their seats in a government that is participating in the enslavement of the German people.

The centrist parties and groups of the Two and a Half International are no less crass examples of counter-revolutionary organizations. The German Independents brusquely re-

fused to respond to the appeal of the German Communist party for unity of action, in spite of all differences, in the battle against the impoverishment of the working class. During the March revolt they took a decided stand on the side of the White Guard movement against the Middle-German workers, only to raise a hypocritical howl about White Terror, after they had aided in securing victory to this very White Terror, and had denounced the proletarian vanguard, before the eyes of the bourgeoisie, as thieving, plundering "gutter" proletarians. Although they pledged themselves, at the Congress of Halle, to support Soviet Russia, their press is replete with calumny against Soviet Russia. They stepped into the ranks of the entire counter-revolutionary congregation, from Wrangel to Miliukov to Burtseff, by supporting the Kronstadt revolt against the Soviet Republic, a revolt that signified the commencement of a new policy of international counter-revolution against Soviet Russia to overthrow the Communist Party of Russia, to destroy the soul, the heart, the marrow, the nervous system of the Soviet Republic, in order then to sweep away its corpse more easily. The French Longuetists joined the German Independents in this campaign, thus affiliating publicly to the French counter-revolutionary forces, who have proved to be the sponsors of this new policy against Russia. In Italy the tactics of the centrists, of Serrati and D'Aragona, the policy of avoiding any struggle, has revived the courage of the bourgeoisie and enabled it to control the life of Italy by means of its White Fascisti Guards.

Although Centrism and Social Democracy differ only in phraseology, the union of both in a single International has not yet taken place. In fact, the centrist parties united last February in an international association of their own, with a separate political platform and constitution. This Two and a Half International is attempting to oscillate on paper between the policies of democracy and proletarian dictatorship. It not only lends practical service to the capitalists in every country by nurturing a spirit of irresolution in

the working class, but in the face of the destruction caused by the world bourgeoisie, in face of the subjugation of a large part of the world by the victorious capitalist states of the Entente, it concocts plans for the bourgeoisie as to the best means of executing its exploitation projects without unloosening the revolutionary forces of the proletarian masses. The only distinction between the Two and a Half International and the Second International lies in the fact that, besides their common fear of the power of capital, the former is, moreover, afraid to lose the last vestiges of its influence upon the still un-classconscious though yet in spirit revolutionary masses, by a clear formulation of its standpoint. The political oneness of the character of reformists and centrists is revealed in their common defence of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, this last bulwark of the world bourgeoisie. By uniting with the reformists and trade union bureaucrats in the battle against Communism wherever they still possess any influence in the trade unions, by responding to the attempts at revolutionizing the trade unions by expulsion of the Communists and splits in the trade unions, the centrists prove that in common with the Social-Democrats, they are resolute opponents of the proletarian struggle and pacemakers of the counter-revolution.

It is the task of the Communist International to wage relentless war against the Two and a Half International as well as against the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. *Only by means of such an unremitting struggle, daily proving to the masses that the Social-Democrats and Centrists are not only unwilling to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, but not even for the simplest and most urgent needs of the working class, will it be possible for the Communist International to liberate the working class from the grip of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie.* It cannot wage this struggle successfully except by nipping in the bud every Centrist tendency or inclination in its own ranks, by giving constant daily evidence of its being the International of Communist deeds, not of Communist phrases



or theories. The Communist International is the only organization of the world proletariat capable of conducting its struggle against Capitalism on the basis of its principles. Our task consists in so improving our internal cohesion, our international leadership and activity, that we will, in reality, attain the aim we have set up in our Statutes: "Organizing united action by the proletarians of all countries, aspiring toward the same goal: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of an International Soviet Republic."

## **REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

*(Adopted at the 9th Session, June 30, 1921.)*

The Congress having favorably considered the report of the Executive Committee hereby sets forth that the policy and activities of the Executive during the past year have been carried out in accordance with the resolutions of the Second Congress. The Congress approves in particular of the application of the 21 conditions in the different countries, laid down by the Second Congress, and sanctions the work of the Executive with regard to the formation of large Communist mass parties and the relentless struggle against the opportunist tendencies which manifested themselves in various parties.

1. In Italy the attitude of Serrati and his group immediately after the Second World Congress showed that they did not take the resolutions of the World Congress and the Communist International seriously. Especially the role played by these leaders during the September struggle, its conduct in Livorno and still more its policy since that time, have clearly proved that Serrati and his colleagues only wish to use Communism as a shield for their opportunist policy. The split was inevitable under such conditions. The Congress declares that the Executive has acted with firmness and determination in this very important situation. It sanctions the resolution of the Executive Committee which at the time recognized the Communist Party of Italy to be the only Communist section of that country.

After the Communists had left, the Livorno Congress adopted the following resolution by Bentivoglio:

"The Congress reaffirming its adherence to the Third International hereby refers the entire conflict to the coming

Congress and pledges itself in advance to abide by and execute its resolution."

The Third Congress of the Communist International declares that this decision of the Serrati group has been forced upon them by the revolutionary workers. The Congress trusts that these same revolutionary elements of the working class are going to see to it that the decisions of the Third World Congress be actually carried out.

In reply to the appeal of the Livorno Congress the Third World Congress hereby submits the following ultimatum:

The Socialist Party of Italy cannot remain within the ranks of the Communist International so long as the participants of the reformist-conference at Reggio-Emilia and their supporters have not been expelled from the party.

After this ultimative pledge will have been fulfilled the Executive is to take the necessary steps to bring about a union between the Socialist Party in Italy, after the latter will have purified itself from all reformist and centrist elements, and the Communist Party of Italy, and combine both organizations into a unified section of the Communist International.

2. In Germany the Party Conference of the U. S. P. D. in Halle was the consequence of the resolutions of the Second World Congress which in their turn were based on the development of the labor movement. The work of the Executive was directed towards the formation of a strong Communist Party in Germany, and experience has proved that this policy was a correct one. The Congress also completely approves of the attitude of the Executive towards the events within the V. K. P. D.

It expresses the hope that the policy applied to-day in enforcing the fundamental principles of international revolutionary discipline will also be followed by the Executive Committee in the future.

3. The acceptance of the K. A. P. D. as a sympathizing party of the Communist International had for its aim to put the K. A. P. D. on trial and ascertain if it would adapt itself to the requirements of the Communist International.

This period of trial should suffice and the K. A. P. D. should be required to join the V. K. P. D. within a set period; otherwise the K. A. P. D. is to be excluded from the Communist International as a sympathizing party.

The Congress approves of the manner in which the Executive applied the 21 conditions to the French party. By its actions it has succeeded in getting the laboring masses which are tending towards Communism away from the Longuet opportunists and centrists, and to promote their development. The Congress trusts that the Executive will do its utmost for the furtherance of an active and class conscious Communist Party.

4. In Czecho-Slovakia the Executive has followed up with great patience and tact the revolutionary development of a proletariat which has already given proof of its determination and readiness to take a share in the revolutionary struggle. The Congress approves of the decision of the Executive to accept the Czech Communist Party as a member of the Communist International. The Congress trusts that the Executive will insist that the 21 conditions be unswervingly carried out by the Czech Communist Party and that a united Communist Party be formed comprising all the nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia with a purely Communist program under firm Communist leadership and on a centralized basis, and also that the trade unions of that country will be speedily and decisively won over and united internationally.

5. With regard to the work of the Executive Committee on the countries of the Near and Far East, the Congress welcomes its extensive activity, and considers that the transition to intensified organization work in these countries not possible of postponement.

Finally the Congress repudiates the objections which have been raised by the open and disguised adversaries of Communism against vigorous international centralization of the Communist movement. It expresses its deep conviction that all the parties will send their best forces to the Executive, and thereby bring about a still more militant political

central leadership which is necessary for the indissoluble unions of the affiliated Communist Parties. The lack of such a leadership made itself felt, for instance, in the unemployment and reparation questions in which the Executive did not act promptly and effectively. The Congress trusts that, with the increased co-operation of the affiliated parties in the organization of a more efficient apparatus and with the intensified collaboration of the parties in the Executive, the latter will be enabled to fulfill its ever increasing tasks on a still larger scale than it has done hitherto.

# THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE METHODS AND SCOPE OF THEIR ACTIVITY

*Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organisation of  
Communist Parties.*

## 1. General Principles

1) The organization of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the vanguard—the advance troops of the proletariat—through all the phases of its revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realization of Socialism, i. e., the first stage of the Communist Society.

2) There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the *equality* of the conditions of the proletarian class-struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the Internatoinal Communist Movement, creating a common basis for the organization of Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis it is necessary to develop the organization

of the Communist Parties but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones or to aim at any absolutely correct forms of organization and ideal constitutions.

3) Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie and to wrest the power from its hands is for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. Accordingly, the determining factor in the organizing activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries must be the upbuilding of such organizations as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes both possible and secure.

4) Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organization of the Communist Party is the organization of communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

To be a good leader the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly, the principal task of our organization work must be the education, organization and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5) The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the ever-changing conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires absolutely the closest association with the proletarian masses. Without such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but, at best, will follow behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organization must be attained through democratic centralization.

## II. On Democratic Centralization

6) Democratic centralism in the Communist Party organization must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire party organization. Centralization in the Communist Party organization does not mean a formal and mechanical centralization, but a centralization of communist activity, that is to say the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralization is the centralization of the "power" in the hands of the party bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organization. Only the enemies of communism can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian class struggles and centralizing this communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power or any contest for supremacy within the party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

In the organization of the old, non-revolutionary labor movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois State, namely the dualism between the bureaucracy and the "people." Under the baneful influence of bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour, and the splitting up of the organization into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labor movement inevitably inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment.



The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome these contrasts by systematic and persevering political and organizing work and by constant improvement and revision.

7) In transforming a socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralization should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this central authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and therefore likely to stimulate opposition to all centralization, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

Merely formal democracy in the organization cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil in the workers' movement on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralization of the organization, i. e., the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintainance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and the members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside of the Party.

### III. On the Duties of Communist Activity

8) The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organization and the membership become joined through daily common work in the party organization.

Regular participation on the part of most of the members in the daily work of the Party is lacking even today in the lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9) In the first stages of its Communist transformation every workmen's Party is in danger of being content with having accepted a Communist program, with having substituted the old doctrine in its propaganda by Communist teachings and having replaced the officials belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of a Communist program is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If the Communist activity is lacking and the passivity of the mass of members still remains, then the party does not fulfil even the least part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist program. For the first condition for an earnest carrying out of the program is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.

The art of Communist organization lies in the ability of making use of each and every one for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party members, and of constantly attracting through its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement; further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hand not by virtue of its might, but by its authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge, and capabilities.

10) A Communist Party must strive to have only really active members, and to demand from every rank and file party worker that he should place his whole strength and time, in so far as he can himself dispose of it, under existing conditions, at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services .

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides communist convictions—formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member; likewise, the regular payment of the established dues, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

11) For the purpose of carrying on the Party work every Party member must as a rule be also a member of a

smaller working group: a committee, a commission, a board group, faction, or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meetings of the members of the local organizations of course goes without saying: it is not wise to try under conditions of legal existence, to replace those periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the members must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparations for these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or through comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilizing as well as the preparations for the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass actions of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership divided among the great mass of the smaller groups of workers, even the most laborious endeavors to take part in the class struggles of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence those struggles, but not to the necessary consolidation of the proletariat into a single unified capable Communist Party.

12) Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities: for home agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

These Communist units are the nuclei for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc., wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nuclei is enlarged into a faction, and its work is directed by the nucleus.

Should it be necessary to form a wider general opposi-

tion faction, or to take part in an existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through their special nucleus.

Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

13) The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organization of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist mass parties. It cannot be carried out all at once, it demands unwearying perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that this new form of organization should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organization according to a formal scheme into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

It is recommended that the Party should take council with several capable organizers, who are also convinced and inspired Communists and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centres of the country and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that, trained organizers or Organization Committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organizations, working groups, nuclei, and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and executable. Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations, in what way these tasks are to be carried out.

They must be warned at the same time of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14) This work of reorganization must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organization. It must first be proved in small cases that the nuclei formed in the separate important factories and trade unions are functioning properly, and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the other chief branches of the Party activity and have in some degree become consolidated (for instance in the information, communication, women's movement, or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployed movement, etc.). Before the new organization apparatus will have acquired a certain practice the old frames of the organization should not be heedlessly broken up.

At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organization work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places great demands not only on a legal Party, but also on every illegal Party.

Until a widespread network of Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers will be at work at all the central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the party will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labors for the carrying out of this task.

15) This fundamental organizational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organizations of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that the comrades, men and women, should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to

special conditions. They must also endeavor to find out any mistakes committed in their own activities on the basis of acquired experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle.

16) Our whole party work consists either of direct struggle on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialization of this work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For instance, the lawful parties have done little in the matter of combatting the secret service men. The instructing of the Party comrades has been carried on, as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter, and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party programme and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole mass system of the Party organizations in all the working communities of the Party in order to obtain an even higher degree of specialization.

17) To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as of every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

18) The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organization in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading Committee (for instance, monthly reports of the local branches to the corresponding Party Committee).

Each nucleus, faction and group of workers must send its

report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers (respectively to the leader) to which he belongs, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from whom the order was received.

The reports must always be made at the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order demands a written report. The reports must be concise and to the point. The receiver of the report is responsible for having such communications as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody, that important reports be sent in without delay to the corresponding leading Party organ.

19) All these reports must naturally not be limited to the account of what the reporter had done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly, such considerations which may give rise to modification or improvement of our future work. Also proposals for improvements, the necessity of which may have made itself felt during the work must be included in the report.

In all the Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers, all reports, both those that have been handed in to them and those that they have to send must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organizations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers' organizations and chiefly the organizations of the "socialist" parties.

#### IV. On Propaganda and Agitation

20) Our chief general duty to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agita-

tion. This work and its organization is still, in the main, being conducted in the old and formal manner, by means of casual speeches, at mass meeting and without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interest and aspirations and especially out of their common struggles.

The most important point to remember is—that communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character. Therefore the communist watchword and the whole communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve the correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators, but also all other party members must be carefully instructed.

21) The principal forms of communist propaganda and agitation are: individual verbal propaganda, participation in the industrial and political labor movement, propaganda through the party press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal or illegal party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house, within the area of party influence, must be omitted from this canvass. In larger towns a specially organized outdoor campaign with posters and distribution of leaflets usually produce satisfactory results. In addition, the factions should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops, accompanied by distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective



national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs .

22) In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitators must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda, in order to meet these backward workers half way, and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The communist propaganda, with its watchwords, must bring out the budding, unconscious incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers.

At the same time communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands or aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of communist propaganda.

23) Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our communist organization be recognized by the struggling proletarians as the courageous, intelligent, energetic and ever faithful leader of their own labor movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all the elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labor, wages, etc. The communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which, in its turn, is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through the everyday performance of such elementary duties, and through participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real communist party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so called, pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of all parliamentary possibilities, or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploiters is essentially necessary not only for the conquest, but in a still higher degree, for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the communist party will be able to become the vanguard of the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

24) Communists must be mobilized in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts and other mass dismissals of the workers, in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of the workers for slight improvements of their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them, on the plea of the Communist programme and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalist, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse at the same time for non-participation in the struggle. Our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to non-sensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the strug-

gling masses of being courageous and effective participators in their struggles.

25) The communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have often proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism, and then fall into the negative attitude of common place syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the yellow Amsterdam International.

Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of the practical aspect of every question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all trade agreements, they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of the trade agreements recommended by the Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat, and it is a well known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hands of the workers by all manner of trade agreements. Therefore, it behooves the Communists to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of these aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating a trade agreement which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the trade-union organizations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which, in themselves, are to be commended.

Therefore, an opposition on principle against such activities would be ill advised. But Communists should point out to the workers that the manner of collection of these funds and their use as advocated by the Amsterdam Leaders is against all the revolutionary interests of the working class. In connection with sick benefit, etc., Communists should in-

sist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all voluntary funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sick benefits by paying contributions it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments, for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their petty bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

26) In the struggle against the social democratic and other petty bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labor parties one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in the most energetic fashion, and the best way to do that is by depriving them of their following, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavor to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is not by any means sufficient to call Amsterdam leaders yellow. Their "yellowness" must be proved by continual and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade-unions, in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, in the bourgeois ministries and administrations; their treacherous speeches at conferences and in parliament; the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in Press, and above all their vacillation and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages, offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behavior of the Amsterdam leaders in simply worded speeches and resolutions.

The nuclei and factions must conduct their practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not allow the excuses of the minor trade-union officials, who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors to hamper their

march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of the removal of all real or imaginary obstacles put in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

27) The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organizations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lectures and counsel and put up as candidates for election, capable, experienced and energetic comrades.

The Communist organizations must, through their fractions, also make careful preparations in connection with all workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, political festivals and such like, arranged by the hostile organizations. Wherever Communists convene their own workers' meetings, they must endeavor to have considerable groups of communists distributed among the audience, and they must make all due preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda results.

28) Communists must also learn how to draw unorganized and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. With the help of our nuclei and fractions we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organizations, as for instance, educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, war-victims' organizations, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers' unions may be formed outside of the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent and under the control of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathizers).

Communist youths and women's organizations may also be helpful in rousing the interest of the many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually into the Communist Party, through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, Sun-

day rambles, etc., distribution of leaflets, increasing the circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their petty bourgeois inclinations.

29) In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers as sympathizers of the revolutionary proletarians, the Communists must make use of their special antagonisms to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win these intermediary groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. Communists must also endeavor to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organizations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts, or may have influence over the petty bourgeois working peasantry, over those who work in the home-industries and other semi-proletarian classes. Those who are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, must be unmasked. All everyday occurrences which bring the State bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction, must be made use of in a judicial and energetic manner in the course of communist agitation.

Each local country organization must carefully apportion among its members the duties of house to house canvassing, in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farm steads and isolated dwellings in their district.

30) The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adapted to the peculiar conditions in each country. Anti-militarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental, and only assists the bourgeois in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy, every kind of military institution of the bourgeois

State, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle clubs, citizen guard organizations, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed not against the military training of the youth and workers, but against the militaristic regime, and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonisms, revealing themselves as they do in the materially favored positions of the officers as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the fate of the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating against the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class war, and especially against its armed volunteer bands.

Wherever the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible, every favorable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever it possesses a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example, in the officers corps, it must be unmasked before the entire population, and made so despicable and repulsive, that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their very isolation.

## V. The Organization of Political Struggles

31) For a Communist Party there can be no period in which its party organization cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilizing every political and economic

situation, as well as all the changes in these situations, organizational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the party may be, it can nevertheless take advantage of exciting political events or of extensive strikes affecting the entire economic system, by a radical propaganda. Once a party has studied to thus make use of a particular situation it must concentrate the energy of all its members and party in this campaign.

Furthermore, all the connections which the party possesses through the work of its nuclei and workers' groups must be used for organizing mass meetings in the centers of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the party must do their utmost to convince the audiences that only communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must prepare these meetings very thoroughly. If the party cannot for some reason hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organized by the strikers or any other section of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority or a large part of any meeting to support our demands, these must be well formulated and properly argued in motions and resolutions to be submitted for adoption. In the event of such resolutions being passed, attempts must be made to have similar resolutions or motions adopted in ever increasing numbers, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognize our leadership.

After all such meetings the committees which participated in the organizational preparations and utilized its opportunities must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committee of the party and draw the proper conclusions from the experiences or possible mistakes made, for the future. In accordance with each par-



ticular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved must be made public by means of posters and hand-bills, or leaflets distributed among the workers, proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organized groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distribution of hand-bills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned are wont to gather, also at important points in the town, employment offices and stations; such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions and slogans, readily permeating all the ranks of the working masses. Detailed leaflets should if possible be distributed only in halls, factories, dwellings or other places where proper attention to the printed matter may be expected.

Such propaganda must be supported by parallel activity at all the trade union or factory meetings held during the conflict, and at such meetings, whether organized by our comrades or only favored by us, suitable speakers and debaters must seize the opportunity of convincing the masses of our point of view. Our party newspapers must place at the disposal of such a special movement the greater part of their space as well as their best arguments. In fact, the entire party organization must for the time being be made to serve the general purpose of such a movement, whereby our comrades may work with unabated energy.

32) Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership, closely intent upon the aim of a particular action, and able to discern at any given moment whether a demonstration has reached its highest possible effectiveness, or whether, during that particular situation, a further intensification is possible by inducing an extension of the movement into an action of the masses, by means of demonstration strikes and eventually general strikes. The demonstrations in favor of peace during the war have taught us that

even after the dispersal of such demonstrations, a really proletarian fighting party must neither deviate nor stand still no matter how small or illegal it may be, if the question at issue is of real importance and is bound to become of ever greater interest for the large masses.

Street demonstrations attain greatest effectiveness when their organization is based on the large factories. When efficient preparations by our nuclei and groups by means of verbal and handbill propaganda has succeeded in bringing a certain unity of thought and action in a particular situation, the managing committee must call the confidential party members in the factories, and the leaders of the nuclei and groups to a conference, to discuss and fix the time and business of the meeting on the day planned, as well as the determination of slogans, the prospects of intensification, and the moment of cessation and dispersal of the demonstration. The backbone of the demonstration must be formed by a well instructed and experienced group of diligent officials, mingling among the masses from the moment of departure from the factories up to the time of dispersal of the demonstration. Responsible party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses, for the purpose of enabling the officials to retain active contact with each other and keeping them provided with the requisite political instructions. Such a mobile, politically organized leadership of a demonstration permits most effectively of constant renewal and eventual intensification into greater mass actions.

33) Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist leaders on the working class by means of extensive campaigns, and to rally the majority of working masses to the Communist banners. Campaigns must be organized in various ways depending upon whether the situation favors actual fighting, in which case they become active and not hem-

selves at the head of the proletarian movement or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors for selection of the organized methods for such actions.

For example, the method of publishing a so-called "Open Letter" was used in order to win over to the V. K. P. D., as a young mass party, the socially decisive sections of the proletariat to a greater extent than had been possible in certain districts. In order to unmask the treacherous Socialist leaders, the Communist Party addressed itself to the other mass organizations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of the proletariat, whether they, with their allegedly powerful organizations, were prepared to take up the struggle, in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious destitution of the proletariat, and for the slightest demands, even for a pitiful piece of bread.

Wherever the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organizational preparations for the purpose of making such an action re-echo among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade-union officials of the party must bring the demands made by the party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat, to a discussion at their next factory and trade-union meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our party press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short or detailed daily articles, treating the various phases of the question

from every possible point of view. The organizations must continually supply the press with the material for such articles and pay close attention that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the party campaign. The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion, according to the directions of the party leadership, in the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and party workers.

In case the united, organizationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the party succeed, within a few weeks, in inducing the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organizational task of our party, to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favor of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particularly trade-union character, it must be attempted above all to increase our organizational influence on the trade unions.

To this end our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well prepared, direct action against the local trade union leaders, in order to either overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organized struggle on the basis of the demands of our party. Wherever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institutions exist, our groups must exert influence on the plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils to also decide in favor of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organizations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat, under Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favorable resolutions were adopted. The new leadership consolidated under Com-

munist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organized workers, and this power must be utilized to give an impetus to the leadership of the Socialist Parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

In those industrial regions where our party possesses its best organizations and has obtained the greatest support for its demands, they must succeed, by means of the organized pressure on the local trade unions and industrial council, in uniting all the evident economic isolated struggles in these regions, as well as the developing movements of other groups into one coordinated struggle. This movement must then draw up certain common elementary demands, entirely apart from the particular craft interests, and then attempt to obtain the fulfillment of these demands by utilizing the united forces of all the organizations in the district. In such a movement the Communist Party will then prove to be the leader of the proletarians prepared for the struggle, whereas the trade union bureaucracy and the Socialist Party who would oppose such a united, organized struggle, would then be exposed in their true colors, not only politically, but also from a practical organizational point of view.

34) During acute political and economic crises causing, as they do, new movements and struggles, the Communist Party should attempt to gain control of the masses. It may be better to forego any specific demands and rather appeal directly to the members of the Socialist Parties and the Trade Unions, pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with their employers in spite of the attempts of their bureaucratic leaders to evade a decisive struggle. The organs of the Party, particularly the daily newspapers, must emphasize, day by day, that the Communists are ready to take the lead in the impending and actual struggles of the distressed workers, that their fighting organization is ready to lend a helping hand wherever possible to all the oppressed in the given acute situation. It must be pointed out daily that without these

struggles there is no possibility of creating tolerable living conditions for the workers in spite of the efforts of the old organizations to avoid and to obstruct these struggles. The Communist factions within the trade unions and industrial organizations must lay stress continually upon the self-sacrificing readiness of the Communists and make it clear to their fellow workers that the fight is not to be avoided. The main task, however, is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the situation. The various nuclei and factions of the industries and crafts which have been drawn into struggle must not only maintain the closest ties of organization among themselves, but also to assume the leadership of all the movements that may break out, through the district committees as well as through the central committees, furnishing promptly such officials and responsible workers as will be able to lead a movement hand in hand with those engaged in the struggle, to broaden and deepen that struggle, and make it wide-spread. It is the main duty of the organization everywhere to point out and emphasize the common character of all the various struggles, in order to foster the idea of the general solution of the question by political means if necessary. As the struggles become more intensified and general in character, it becomes necessary to create uniform organs for the leadership of the struggles. Wherever the bureaucratic strike leaders have failed, the Communists must come in at once and ensure a determined militant leadership. Where the combination of isolated struggles has been achieved, the common organization of action must be insisted upon, and it is here that the Communists must seek to win the leadership. The common organization of action can be achieved, under capable preliminary organization, by persistent advocacy at the meetings of the factions and industrial councils as well as at mass meetings of the industries concerned.

When the movement becomes widespread and, owing to the onslaughts of the employers' organizations and government interference, assumes a political character, prelimi-

nary propaganda and organization work must be started for the election of Workers' Councils which may become possible and even necessary.

It is here that all party organs should emphasize the idea that only by forging their own weapons of struggle can the working class achieve its real emancipation. In this propaganda not the slightest consideration should be shown to the trade union bureaucracy or to the old Socialist parties.

35) The Communist Parties which have already grown strong, and particularly the big mass parties, must be equipped for mass action. All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions, must always tend to organize the experiences of these movements in order to bring about a close union with the wide masses. The experiences gained by all new great movements must be discussed at broad conferences of the leading officials and responsible party workers, with the trusted representatives of the large and middle industries, and in this manner the network of communications will be constantly increased and strengthened, and the trusted representatives of the industries will become increasingly permeated with the fighting spirit. The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible party workers, with the shop delegates, are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass-action, in keeping with the circumstances and the actual strength of the Party.

Without the closest ties between the Party organizations and the proletarian masses employed in the big and middle industries, the Communist Party cannot carry out any big mass-actions and really revolutionary movements. The untimely collapse of the undoubtedly revolutionary upheaval in Italy last year, which found its strongest expression in the seizing of factories, was certainly due to a great extent to the treachery of the trade-unionist bureaucracy and the unreliability of the political party leaders, but partly also to the total lack of intimacies of organization between the Party and the industries through politically informed shop dele-

gates interested in the welfare of the Party. Also the English coal miners' strike of the present year has undoubtedly suffered through this lack to an extraordinary degree.

## VI. On the Party Press

36) The Communist Press must be developed and improved by the Party with indefatigable energy.

No paper may be recognized as a Communist organ if it does not submit to the directions of the Party.

The Party must pay more attention to having good papers than to having many of them. Every Communist Party must have a good, and if possible, a daily central organ.

37) A Communist newspaper must never be a capitalist undertaking, as are the bourgeois and frequently also the "socialist" papers. Our paper must be independent of all the capitalist credit institutions. A skilful organization of the advertisements, which render possible the existence of our paper for lawful mass parties, must never lead to our becoming dependent on the large advertisers. On the contrary, its unswerving attitude on all proletarian social questions will create the greater respect for it in all our mass parties.

Our papers must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public. They must not yield to the criticism of the petty bourgeois writers or journalist virtuosos in the striving to become "respectable."

38) The Communist paper must in the first place take care of the interests of the oppressed and fighting workers. It must be our best agitator and the leading propagator of the proletarian revolution.

It will be the object of our paper to collect all the valuable experience from the activity of the party members and to demonstrate the same to our comrades as a guide for the continued revision and improvement of Communist working



methods. In this way it will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

It is only this all embracing organization work of the Communist papers and particularly our principal paper, with this definite object in view, that will be able to establish democratic centralism and will lead to the efficient distribution of work in the communist party, thus enabling it to perform its historic mission.

39) The Communist paper must strive to become a Communist undertaking, i. e., it must be a proletarian fighting organization, a working community of the revolutionary workers, of all writers who regularly contribute to the paper, editors, typesetters, printers and distributors, those who collect local material and discuss the same in the paper, those who are daily active in propagating it, etc., etc.

A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into a real fighting organ and a strong working community of the communists.

A Communist should be in closest connection with his paper when he has to work and make sacrifices for it. It is his daily weapon which must be newly hardened and sharpened every day in order to be fit for use. Heavy material and financial sacrifices will continually be required for the existence of the communist paper. The means for its development and inner improvement will constantly have to be supplied from the ranks of party members, until it will have reached a position of such firm organization and such a wide circulation among a legal mass party, that it will itself become a strong support of the communist movement.

It is not sufficient to be an active canvasser or propagator for the paper, it is necessary to be a contributor to it as well.

Every occurrence of any social or economic interest happening in the workshop from an accident to a general workers meeting, from the ill treatment of an apprentice to the financial report of the concern must be immediately reported to the paper. The Trade Union fraction must communicate all important decisions and resolutions of its meetings and secretariats, as well as any characteristic actions of our enemies. Public life in the street and at the meeting will often give an opportunity to the attentive party member to exercise

social criticism on details, which published in our paper will demonstrate even to indifferent readers how closely we follow the daily needs of life.

Such communications from the life of workers and working organizations must be handled by the board of editors with particular care and attention. They may be used as short notices that will help to convey the feeling of an intimate communion existing between our paper and the workers' lives; or they may be used as practical examples from the daily life of workers that help to explain the doctrine of communism. The latter is the shortest way to bring the wide masses of the workers vitally nearer to the great ideas of Communism. Wherever possible, the board of editors should have fixed hours at a convenient time of the day, when they should be ready to see any worker coming to them and listen to his wishes or complaints on the troubles of life, which they ought to note and use for the enlivenment of the paper.

Under the capitalist system it will of course be impossible for our papers to become a perfect communist workers' community. However, even under most difficult conditions it might be possible to obtain a certain success in the organization of such a revolutionary paper. This has been proved by the "Pravda" of our Russian comrades during the period of 1912 to 1913. It actually represented a permanent and active organization of the conscious revolutionary workers of the most important Russian centres. The comrades used their collective forces for editing, publishing and distributing the paper, many of them doing that alongside with their other work and sparing the money required from their earnings.

The newspaper in its turn furnished them with the best things they desired, with what they needed for the moment and what they can still use to-day in their work and their struggle. Such a newspaper could really and truly be called by the Party members and by many another revolutionary worker "Our Newspaper."

40) The proper element for the militant communist press is direct participation in the campaigns conducted by the Party. If the activity of the Party at a given time happens to be concentrated upon a definite campaign it is the duty of the Party-organ to place all its departments, not the editorial pages alone, at the service of this particular cam-

paign. The editorial board must draw materials from all sources to feed this campaign, which must be incorporated throughout the paper both in substance and in form.

41) The matter of canvassing subscriptions for "Our Newspaper" must be made into a system. The first thing is to make use of every occasion for stirring up the workers and of every situation in which the political and social consciousness of the worker has been aroused by some special occurrence. Thus, following each big strike movement or lockout, during which the paper openly and energetically defended the interests of the workers, a canvassing activity should be organized and be carried on among the participants. Subscription lists and subscription orders for the paper should be distributed not only in the industries where communists are engaged and among the trade union fractions of those industries that had taken part in the strike, but also, whenever possible, subscription orders should be distributed from house to house by special groups of workers doing propaganda for the paper.

Likewise, following each election campaign that aroused the workers, special groups appointed for the purpose should visit the homes of the workers, carrying on systematic propaganda for the workers' newspaper.

At times of latent political or economic crises manifesting themselves in the rise of prices, unemployment, and other hardships affecting great numbers of workers, all possible efforts should be exerted to win over the professionally organized workers of the various industries and organize them into working groups for carrying on systematic house-to-house propaganda for the newspaper. Experience has shown that the most appropriate time for canvassing work is the last week of each month. Any local group that would allow even one of these last weeks of the month to pass by without making use of it for propaganda work for the newspaper will be committing a grave omission with regard to the spread of the Communist movement. The working group conducting propaganda for the newspaper must not leave out any public meeting or any demonstration without being there at the opening, during the intervals, and at the close with their subscription lists for the paper. The same duties are imposed upon every trade union faction at each

separate meeting of the union as well as upon the group and factions at shop meetings.

42) Every Party member must constantly defend our paper against all its opponents and carry on an energetic campaign against the capitalist press. He must expose and brandmark the venality, the falsehood, the suppression of information and all the double dealings of this press.

The social-democratic and independent press must be overcome by constant aggressive criticism, without falling into petty factional polemising, but by persistent unmasking of their treacherous attitude in veiling the most flagrant class-conflicts day by day. The trade union and other factions must seek by organized means to win away the members of trade unions and other workers' organizations from the misleading and crippling influence of these social-democratic papers. Also the canvassing and house-to-house campaign for our press, notably among industrial workers, must be judiciously directed against the social-democratic press.

## VII. On the Structure of the Party Organism

43) The Party organization spreading out and fortifying itself must not be organized upon a scheme of mere geographical divisions, but in accordance with the real economic, political and transport conditions of the given district. The centre of gravity is to be placed in the main cities, and the centres of large industries.

In the building up of a new Party there usually manifests itself a tendency to have the Party organization spread out at once all over the country. Thus disregarding the fact that the number of workers at the disposal of the Party is very limited, those few workers are being scattered in all directions. This weakens the recruiting ability and the growth of the Party. In such cases we witness an extensive system of Party offices spring up, but the Party itself does not succeed in gaining foot-hold even in the most important industrial cities.

44) In order to get the Party activity centralized to the

highest possible degree it is not advisable to have the Party leadership divided into a hierarchy with a number of rungs subordinated to one another. The thing to be aimed at is that every large city forming an economic, political or transportation center should spread out and form a net of organizations within a wide area of the surroundings of the given locality and the economic political districts adjoining it. The Party Committee of this large center should form the head of the general body of the Party and conduct the organizational activity of the district directing its policy in close connection with the membership of the locality.

The organizers of such a district elected by the district conference and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party are obliged to take active part in the Party life of the local organizations. The Party Committee of the district must be constantly reinforced by members from among the Party workers of the place, so that there should be close relationship between the Committee and the large masses of the district. As the organization keeps developing, efforts should be made to the effect that the leading Committee of the district should at the same time be the leading political body of the place. Thus, the Party Committee of the district together with the Central Committee should play the part of the real leading organ in the general Party organization.

45) The boundary lines of a party district are not naturally limited by the area of the place. The determining factor should be that the district Committee be in a position to direct the activities of all the local organizations within the district in a uniform manner. As soon as this becomes impossible the district must be divided and new Party districts formed.

It is also necessary in the larger countries to have certain intermediate organizations serving as connecting links between the Central Committees and the various district Committees, and also the various district Committees with the locals. Under certain conditions it may be advisable to give

to some of these intermediary organizations, as for example, an organization in a large city with a strong membership, a leading part, but as a general rule this should be avoided as leading to decentralization.

The larger intermediary organizations are formed out of local Party organizations: of country groups or of small cities and of districts of the various parts of a large city.

The Party as a whole is to be under the guidance of the Communist International. The instructions and resolutions of the Executive of the International on methods affecting the affiliated Parties are to be directly firstly, either to their Central Committee of the Party or (2) through this Committee to some special Committee or (3) to the members of the Party at large.

The instructions and resolutions of the international are binding upon the Party, and, naturally, also upon every Party member.

46) The large units of the Party organization (districts) are formed from the local bodies of the Party; namely, from the "local groups" in the villages and small towns, and from the "districts" or "quarters" of the various sections of the larger towns.

Any local Party organization which has grown to such an extent that it can no longer legally hold proper general meetings of its members, must be subdivided.

The members of the local Party organization are to be assigned to the various working groups for the purpose of daily Party activity. The larger organizations may find it of greater value to unite the working groups into various collective groups. Each collective group should as a rule be constituted of members who are in constant contact with each other at their work-shops or in their daily associations. The duties of the collective group consist in the assignment of general Party work to the various working groups, the receipt of reports from the leaders of such groups, the education of candidate members in their midst, etc.

47) The Central Committee of the Party is elected at a

Party Congress and is responsible before it. The Central Committee selects out of its own midst a smaller body consisting of two sub-committees for political and organizational activity. Both these sub-committees are responsible for the political and current work of the Party. These sub-committees or Bureaus arrange for regular joint sessions of the Central Committee of the Party where decisions of later moment are to be passed. In order to study the general and political situation and to gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the Smaller Bureau should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee.

Carried on such a basis the Central Committee of the Party, especially in case of legal mass parties will be able in the shortest possible time to form a firm foundation for a discipline requiring the unconditional confidence of the Party membership and at the same time manifesting the vacillations and deviations that make their appearance among the responsible workers which are to be recognized and done away with. Such abnormalities in the Party may be removed before reaching the stage where they should have to be brought up before a Party Congress for decision.

48) Every leading Party Committee must have its work among its members in order to achieve efficiency in the various branches of work. This may necessitate the formation of various special\* committees as for example committees for propaganda, for editorial work, for the trade union campaign, for communication, etc. Every special committee is

subordinated either to the Central Committee or to the District Committee.

The control over the activity as well as over the composition of all committees should be in the hands of the given District Committee and in the last instance in the hand of the Party's Central Committee. All the members attached to the Party for particular party work are directly responsible before the Party Committee. It may become advisable from time to time to change the occupations and the office of those people attached for various Party work such as editors, organizers, propagandists, etc., provided that this does not interfere too much with the Party work. The editors and propagandists must participate in the regular Party work in one of the Party groups.

49) The Central Committee of the Party, as also of the Communist International, is empowered at any time to demand complete reports from all Communist organizations, from their organs and from individual members. The representatives of the Central Committee and comrades authorized by it are to be admitted to all meetings and sessions with a deciding voice. The Central Committee of the Party must always have at its disposal pleni-potentiaries (Commissars) to instruct and inform the leading organs of the various districts and regions not only by means of their circulars and letters, but also by direct, verbal and responsible agencies on questions of politics and organization. Every organization and every branch of the party, as well as every individual member, has the right of communicating his respective wishes, suggestions, remarks or complaints directly to the Central Committee of the Party, or of the International, at any time.

50) The instructions and the decisions of the leading Party organs are obligatory for the subordinate organizations and for the individual members. The responsibility of the leading organs and the duty to prevent either delinquency or abuse of their leading position, can only partly be determined in a formal manner. The less their formal



responsibility (as for instance, in illegal Parties), the greater the obligation upon them to study the opinion of the Party members, to obtain regular and solid information, and to form their own decisions only after mature and thorough deliberation.

51) The Party members are obliged to act always as disciplined members of a militant organization in all their public actions. Should differences of opinion occur as to the proper mode of action, this should be determined as far as possible by previous discussion inside the Party organization, and the action should be according to the decision thus arrived at. Even if the decision of the organization or of the Party Committee should appear faulty in the opinion of the rest of the members, these comrades in all their public activities must never lose sight of the fact, that it is the worst form of undisciplined conduct and the gravest military error, to hinder or to break entirely the unity of the common front.

It is the supreme duty of every Party member to defend the Communist Party and above all the Communist International, against all the enemies of Communism. He who forgets and, on the contrary, publicly assails the Party or the Communist International, is a bad Communist.

52) The statutes of the Party must be drawn in such a manner, as not to become a hindrance, but rather a helping force to the leading Party organs in the constant development of the general Party organization and in the continuous improvement of Party activity. The decisions of the Communist International must be promptly carried out by the affiliated Parties, even in the case when corresponding alterations in existing statutes and Party decisions can be adopted only at a later date.

### VIII. Legal and Illegal Activity

53) The Party must be so organized, that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggle. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organization

capable of avoiding a fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy, concentrated upon a given point; but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilized as to attack him in a spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organization to stake everything upon a rebellion and street fighting, or only upon condition of severe oppression. Communists must perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods; and even in cases where it might be possible, this foresight cannot, in many cases, be made use of for reorganization, because the change as a rule comes quickly, and frequently quite suddenly.

54) The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp the importance of the task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or for the illegal fight in general. Communist organizations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence, and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal tasks.

On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activity towards the building up of a party organization which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organizations which ignore these vital truths run the risk of becoming merely groups of conspirators, wasting their labors in futile Sisyphus tasks.

Both those tendencies are erroneous. Every legal communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal communist organization must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labor movement, in order to become, by means of intensive party activity, the organizer and real leader of the great revolutionary masses.

55) Both among legal and underground Party circles there is a tendency for the illegal Communist organization activity to evolve into the establishment and maintenance of a purely military organization isolated from the rest of the Party organization and activity. This is absolutely erroneous. On the contrary, during the pre-revolutionary period the formation of our militant organizations must be mainly accomplished through the general work of the Communist Party. The entire Party must be developed into a militant organization for the Revolution.

Isolated revolutionary-military organizations, prematurely created in the pre-revolutionary periods, are apt to show tendencies towards dissolution, because of the lack of direct and useful party work.

56) It is of course imperative for an illegal party to protect its members and party organs from being found out by the authorities, and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collecting of contributions and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use frank organizational methods to the same extent as a legal party. It can, nevertheless, through practice, acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

On the other hand, a legal mass party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities (viz., it must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files; must, in most cases, destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers, etc).

It is often assumed in the circles of the legal, as well as of the illegal parties, that the illegal organization must be in the nature of a rather exclusive, entirely military institution, occupying within the party a position of splendid isolation. This assumption is quite erroneous. The formation of our fighting organization in the pre-revolutionary period must depend principally on the general communist

party work. The entire party must be made into a fighting organization for the revolution.

57) Therefore, our general party work must be apportioned in a manner which would ensure, even in the pre-revolutionary period, the foundation and consolidation of a fighting organization commensurate with the needs of the revolution. It is of the greatest importance that the directing body of the Communist Party should be guided in its entire activity by the revolutionary requirements, and that it should endeavor as far as possible, to gain a clear idea of what these are likely to be. This is, naturally, not an easy matter, but that should not be a reason for leaving out of consideration this very important point of communist organizational leadership.

Even the best organized party would be faced with very difficult and complicated tasks, if it had to undergo great functional changes in a period of open revolutionary uprising. It is quite possible that our political Party will be called upon to mobilize in a few days its forces for the revolutionary struggle. Probably, it will have to mobilize, in addition to the party forces, their reserves, the sympathizing organizations, viz., the unorganized revolutionary masses. The formation of a regular red army is, as yet, out of the question. We must conquer without a previously organized army—through the masses under the leadership of the party. For this reason, even the most heroic effort would not succeed should our party not be well prepared and organized for such an eventuality.

58) One has probably observed that the revolutionary central directive bodies have proved unable to cope with revolutionary situations. The proletariat has generally been able to achieve great revolutionary organization as far as minor tasks are concerned, but there has nearly always been disorder, confusion and chaos at its headquarters. Sometime there has been a lack of even the most elementary apportioning of work. The intelligence department is often so badly organized that it does more harm than good. There

is no reliance on postal and other communications. All secret postal and transport arrangements, secret quarters and printing works are generally at the mercy of lucky or unlucky circumstances, and afford fine opportunities for the "agents provocateurs" of the enemy forces.

These defects cannot be remedied unless the party organizes a special branch in its administration for this particular work. The military intelligence service requires practice and special training and knowledge. The same may be said of the secret service work directed against the political police. It is only through long practice that a satisfactory secret service department can be created. For all this specialized revolutionary work, every legal communist party must make secret preparations, no matter how small. In most cases such a secret apparatus may be created by means of perfectly legal activity.

For instance, it is quite possible to establish a secret postal and transport communications by a code system through the judicially arranged distribution of legal leaflets, and through correspondence in the Press.

59) The Communist Organizer must look upon every member of the party and every revolutionary worker as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason he must allot him a place in the party which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present party work, and not mere drilling which the practical worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist the best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle.

## **THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

*(Adopted at the 24th Session July 12th, 1921.)*

The Executive Committee of the Communist International must be so organized that it is able to take a stand upon all questions connected with the activities of the proletariat. In addition to the general appeals hitherto issued by the Executive upon critical questions of this kind it is necessary also, that, on international questions under dispute, the Executive should try to find the best method of organizing and standardizing the propaganda throughout the various sections. The Communist International must actually become the International of action, and lead the actual day-to-day fight of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The following preliminary conditions are indispensable:

- 1) The Parties affiliated to the Communist International must do their utmost to keep in the closest touch with the Executive; they must not only appoint the best representatives of their country to the Executive, but must also keep the Executive constantly supplied with the best information, so that the Executive will be in a position to take a stand on any political problem that may arise, on the basis of real documents and exhaustive materials. In order that full use may be made of such material, the Executive must organize and subdivide its special activities. An international institute of political economy and statistics should be attached to the Executive for the benefit of the labor movement and communism.

- 2) The affiliated Parties must learn to regard themselves as sections of one Universal International Party. Regular exchange of information must therefore be arranged be-

tween the parties, particularly if they happen to be in neighboring States, for they are then equally interested in the political conflicts which arise out of the clash of the economic interests of capitalism.

At the present time community of action can best be achieved by mutual participation in important conferences, and by reciprocal exchange of representatives. This exchange of representatives must be made an absolutely obligatory condition for all the Sections that are capable of rendering substantial services to the cause.

3) In order to promote this welding together of all the National Sections into a single International Party the Executive should publish a newspaper in all the important languages of Western Europe. This paper would be able to direct the ever increasing growth of communist ideas; and further by supplying reliable and uniform information would serve as a basis for active work in the various Sections.

4) By sending plenipotentiary members of the Executive to Western Europe and America, the Executive can support actively, the aspirations of the proletariat of all countries towards a real International based on the common daily struggle. These representatives must keep the Executive informed about the particular conditions under which the Communist Parties of the various capitalist and colonial countries have to work, and they must also see to it that these Parties keep in the closest possible touch with the Executive, as well as with each other, in order to increase their fighting efficiency. The Executive, as well as the affiliated parties, must see to it, that, by means of trusted personal messengers and written correspondence, communication between the Executive of the individual Communist Parties is regular and frequent, and is carried out with greater safety and speed than hitherto. In this way it should be possible at any time, to take a unanimous stand upon any important political questions which may arise.

5) In order to be able to cope with this extraordinarily intensified activity, the Executive must be considerably aug-

mented. Those sections to which 40 votes had been allotted by the Congress, as well as the Executives of the Young Communist International, have 2 votes each in the Executive; the sections with 30 and 20 votes at the Congress have 1 vote each. The Russian Communist Party is to have 5 votes as before. The representatives of the remaining sections are to have consultative votes. The Congress elects the President and instructs the Executive to appoint three leading secretaries who, if possible, should be chosen from different Parties.

These secretaries shall be assisted in their work by members of the Executive, divided into various Sections, whose duty it shall be to assist in the transaction of the current work of the Executive and of the Secretariat, either through their national departments, or by taking upon themselves the task of reporting upon certain definite questions. The members of the Small Bureau shall be chosen by the Executive.

6) The seat of the Executive Committee is Russia, the first proletarian State. But the Executive shall try to extend its influence by organizing conferences wherever possible outside of Russia, and, further, it shall try to bring about the centralization of the International through its organization and political leadership.



## **THE MARCH ACTION AND THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY**

*(Adopted at the 21st Session, July 9th, 1921)*

The Third Congress regards with satisfaction the fact that all the important resolutions, and especially the section of the resolution on tactics, dealing with the March action, have been unanimously adopted and that the representatives of the German opposition themselves in their proposals on the March action have stood upon the basis of the views adopted by the Congress. The Congress recognizes this fact as a guarantee that the united and harmonized work within the V. K. P. D. on the basis of the resolutions of the Third Congress is not only desirable, but entirely realizable. The Congress recognizes every further splitting of forces within the V. K. P. D., every separatist tendency—not to say anything about a split—as the greatest menace for the entire movement.

The Congress expects of the Central Committee and the majority of the V. K. P. D. the most tolerant treatment of the leaders of the opposition, provided they will loyally carry out the decisions of the Third Congress, and it also urges the Central Committee to take all necessary measures to assure the complete unification of the ranks of the Party. The Congress demands of the former opposition the immediate disbanding of all factional organizations, the complete and absolute subordination of the parliamentary fraction to the Central Committee; the complete subordination of the press to the direction of the various party organs; the immediate cessation of any collaboration with those who

have been expelled from the Party and the Communist International (in their papers, etc.).

The Congress calls upon the Executive to carefully watch the further development of the German movement and in case of the least violation of discipline to take the most drastic measures.

# THESIS ON THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

*(Adopted at the 17th Session, July 5th, 1921)*

## 1. The International Situation of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

The International position of the R. S. F. S. R. at the present time is characterized by a kind of equilibrium which is, however, extremely unstable and is creating a peculiar situation in world politics.

The peculiarity consists in the following: On the one hand the world bourgeoisie is full of hatred and animosity towards Soviet Russia and is ready to pounce upon her at any moment in order to strangle her. On the other hand, all the attempts at military intervention, on which the bourgeoisie has spent hundreds of millions of francs ended in failure, in spite of the fact that the Soviet power at that time was much weaker than it is today and the Russian landlord and capitalist had their armies on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. The opposition to the war against Soviet Russia has become extremely strong in all capitalist countries. This opposition has spread throughout the masses of the petty bourgeois democracy of the capitalist countries and has been fostering the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The conflict of interests between the various imperialist countries has become acute and is growing more and more acute every day. The revolutionary movement among the hundreds of millions of the oppressed nations of the East is greatly gaining in intensity. As a result of all this, International imperialism has proved incapable of strangling Soviet Russia in spite of

superior force. It is therefore compelled to enter into commercial relations with Russia and to recognize her either fully or partially.

As a result of this state of things we have an equilibrium, which though extremely precarious and unstable, nevertheless enables the Socialist Republic to maintain its existence though of course not for a great length of time—within capitalist surroundings.

## **2. Correlation on an International Scale Between the Class Forces**

With such a state of affairs as a basis, the correlation on an international scale between the class forces appears as follows: the international bourgeoisie deprived of the possibility of carrying on an open war against Soviet Russia, is now kept in a state of abeyance. It is on the alert for the moment when conditions will be such as to permit a resumption of the war.

The proletariat of the advanced countries has already everywhere called out its vanguard, and is marching undeviatingly forward to the winning over of the majority of the proletariat in every country, breaking down the influence of the old trade union bureaucracy and upper stratum of the working class in America and Europe, demoralized, as they are, by imperialist privileges.

The petty bourgeois democracy of the capitalist countries represented as its advanced section by the Second and the Two and Half Internationals is at the present moment the chief support of capitalism in so far as the majority or, at least a considerable part of the industrial and commercial workers and employers remain under its influence. The latter are in fear of the advent of the revolution; they fear the loss of their petty bourgeois prosperity created by imperialist privileges. But the growing economic crisis is aggravating the conditions of the wide masses everywhere. This together with the inevitability of imperialist wars

(which is becoming more manifest every day) is shattering this mainstay of capitalism.

The working masses of colonial and semi-colonial countries constituting as they do a vast majority of the earth's population, have already, since the beginning of the twentieth century awakened to political life; especially as a result of the revolutions in Russia, Turkey, Persia and China. The imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the Soviet Power in Russia are definitely transforming these masses into an active factor of world policy and revolutionary destruction of imperialism, although the stubborn intellectual petty bourgeoisie of Europe and America, including the leaders of the Second and Two and Half Internationals will not see this yet. British India is at the head of these countries and the revolution is developing there the more rapidly in proportion as the industrial and railway proletariat is becoming, on the one hand, of greater importance and on the other hand, the terror of the English is growing more brutal, assuming the forms of mass murder (Amritsar), public scourgings, etc.

### 3. Correlation of Class Forces in Russia

The internal political situation of Soviet Russia is such that we have here for the first time in history only two classes existing side by side, namely: the proletariat brought up for a number of decades on a young but modern large machine production and a class of peasant small holders constituting a vast majority of the population.

The large landowners and capitalists have not disappeared in Russia. They have only been subjected to complete expropriation. They have been completely crushed politically as a class and the remnants of this class are dissolved among the state employees of the Soviet Power. They have preserved their class organization abroad as emigrants, numbering probably from one and a half to two millions. They have over half a hundred of daily papers of all the bourgeois and "socialist," that is to say, petty bourgeois parties,

some remnants of an army and numerous connections among the international bourgeoisie. This emigrant organization is working with all its might and main for the annihilation of the Soviet Power and the re-establishment of capitalism in Russia.

#### **4. The Proletariat and the Peasantry in Russia**

Under the conditions of the actual internal situation in Russia, the chief duty of the moment for her proletariat, as the ruling class, is the correct definition and realization of the measures which are necessary for assuming the leadership over the peasantry, the establishment of a solid union with it over a long series of gradual stages towards the transition to a large nationalized machine production in agriculture. This task is especially difficult in Russia both in view of the backwardness of our country and its extreme penury owing to the seven years imperialist and civil wars. But even besides this peculiarity this task is one of the most difficult which the capitalist countries will have to face in socialist construction, with the exception perhaps of England alone. Even in respect to England one should not forget that if the class of minor agricultural leaseholders is especially small in that country, the percentage of workers and employees living as petty bourgeois is very considerable owing to the practical wage slavery of millions of people in the colonies "belonging" to England.

Therefore from the point of view of the development of the world proletarian revolution as a single process the meaning and task of the epoch which Russia is passing through consists practically in respect to the petty bourgeois masses, in testing and verifying the policy of the proletariat which is holding the state power in its hands.

#### **5. Military Union Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry of the R. S. F. S. R.**

The basis for regular mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry in Soviet Russia was created by

the epoch of 1917—1921 when the invasion of the capitalists and landlords supported both by the entire world bourgeoisie and all the parties of the petty bourgeois democracy (the social revolutionists and the Mensheviks) created, consolidated, and gave a definite form to the military union between the proletariat and the peasantry for the defence of the Soviet Power. Civil war is the most acute form of class struggle, and the acuter the struggle the more rapidly, the more palpably does practice itself show to even the more backward stratifications of the peasantry that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can save it; that the social revolutionists and Mensheviks are nothing but the hirelings of the landlords and capitalists.

But if the military bond between the proletariat and the peasantry became—and it could not but become—the primary form of their solid union, it could not have held together even for several weeks without a certain economic tie between these classes. The workers of the state gave the peasants the land and protection from the landlord exploiters, the peasants gave the workers food in advance up to the time of the reestablishment of the larger industry and production.

#### **6. Transition to Regular Economic Relations Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry**

The union between the peasant small-holders and the proletariat may be quite regular and solid from a Socialist point of view, only when the completely restored transport and larger industry will enable the proletariat to furnish to the peasants all the products which are necessary to them and for the improvement of their farming. Owing to the conditions of extreme penury in the country this could not be achieved at once. The proportionate requisition was the most available measure for an insufficiently organized state to enable it to stand firm in the incredibly difficult war against the landlords. The bad harvest and lack of fodder in 1920 aggravated the ruin of the peasants and made it

unavoidably necessary to pass over to a levy on the farm products.

A moderate levy on the farm produce will introduce an immediate improvement in the conditions of the peasants, while interesting them at the same time in enlarging the area of tilled land and improving their farming methods.

The levy on the farm produce is a transition from the requisition of all the surplus products from the peasant to a regular socialist exchange of commodities between industry and agriculture.

#### **7. The Significance and Conditions of the Admission of Capitalism and Concession by Soviet Power**

The levy on farm produce naturally means the liberty of the peasant to dispose of all surplus remaining to him after the payment of the levy. In so far as the state will not be able to supply the peasant with the products of the Socialist factory in exchange for all this surplus, in so far does the liberty to trade in this surplus inevitably involve the liberty for the development of capitalism.

Within the established limits, however, this is not dangerous for Socialism, so long as the transport and the larger industry remain in the hands of the proletariat. On the contrary, the development of capitalism under the control and regulation of the proletarian state (in other words, "state" capitalism of this peculiar kind) is advantageous and necessary in an extremely ruined and backward peasant smallholder country (naturally only to a certain degree), in so far as it is capable of immediately improving the state of peasant agriculture. This refers even to a greater extent with regard to concessions. Without effecting any denationalization the workers government leases out certain mines, forests, oil fields, etc., to foreign capitalists, in order to obtain from them supplementary implements and machines, which would enable it to accelerate the restoration of the larger industry in Soviet Russia.

The payment made to the concessionaires in the form of



a share in the highly valuable products is undoubtedly a tribute paid by the workers' government to the world bourgeoisie. Without in any way seeking to veil this fact we must understand clearly that it is to our advantage to pay this tribute in order to accelerate the restoration of our larger industry and bring about an improvement in the condition of the workers and peasants.

### **8. Success of Our Food Policy**

The food policy of Soviet Russia in 1917-1921 was undoubtedly very crude, imperfect and gave rise to many abuses. Its realization engendered a series of mistakes. But it was on the whole the only policy possible under the given conditions, and it accomplished its historic mission: it saved the proletarian dictatorship in the ruined and backward country. It is an indisputable fact that it improved gradually. In the first year (October 1st, 1918 to October 1st, 1919) the State collected 110 million poods of grain, in the second 220 millions, in the third over 285 millions.

Now, since we have already gained the necessary practical experience, we hope and plan to collect 400 million poods (the amount of the levy is 240 million poods). It is impossible for the workers' government to secure a firm foothold economically unless it is in possession of sufficient stores of food products; only in such case will it ensure the slow but undeviating restoration of large industry and create a normal financial system.

### **9. Material Basis of Socialism and the Plan for the Electrification of Russia**

The only material basis of Socialism is in large machine industry which would lead to the reorganization of agriculture. But one cannot be limited to this general idea. It must be dealt with more concretely. The larger industry to be carried on along the lines of modern technique and be capable of reorganizing agriculture, would imply electrifica-

tion of the whole country. We have had to draw up a scientific plan for such electrification of the R. S. F. S. R. and we have accomplished it with the aid of over 200 of the best scientists, engineers and agricultural experts of Russia. This work has been completed, published in the shape of a voluminous work and approved, in general, by the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December 1920. At present the convocation of an All-Russian Congress of electro-technicians has been arranged which will be held in August 1921, and which will examine this work in detail; the latter will then receive the final confirmation of the State. The electrification works of the first period are calculated for ten years, and will require about 370 million working days. If in 1918 we had eight newly constructed electric power stations with 4,747 kw., in 1919 this figure was increased to 36 with 1,648 kw., in 1920 to 100 with 8,699 kw.

However humble this beginning is for a vast country, nevertheless the start has been made and the work is progressing ever better and better. After the imperialist wars, after millions of prisoners of war had become acquainted in Germany with modern advanced technique, after the strenuous but hardening experience of the three years' civil war, the Russian peasant is not what he was in older times. With each month he sees ever clearer and more palpably that it is only the leadership of the proletariat that will be capable of liberating the mass of peasant small holders from the wage slavery of capitalism, and lead them to Socialism.

#### **10. The Rule of "Pure Democracy" and Second and Two and Half Internationals, the Social Revolutionists and Menshevists as Allies of Capitalism.**

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean the cessation of the class struggle, but its continuation in a new form and with new weapons. As long as the class division prevails, as long as the defeated bourgeoisie of any one country increases its attacks on Socialism tenfold and on an international scale, so long is the dictatorship indispen-

sable. A class of small peasant holders cannot but pass through a series of vacillations in the epoch of transition. The hardships of the transition period, the influence of the bourgeoisie will inevitably call forth vacillations in these masses. The proletariat, weakened and partly unclassed, owing to the destruction of large machine industry which constitutes its backbone, is confronted with the most difficult historic task of standing firm against the vacillations and carrying the work of the liberation of labor from the yoke of capitalism to its successful issue. The political expression of these vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie is the policy of the petty bourgeois parties; that is to say, the parties of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals which in Russia are represented by the parties of the social revolutionists and Menshevists. Having at present their headquarters and papers abroad, these parties are practically working in a block with the entire bourgeois counter revolution, and are rendering it good service. The wise leaders of the Russian high bourgeoisie with Miliukov at their head, the leader of the "Cadet" (Constitutional Democratic) party, clearly, precisely and frankly apprised this role of the petty bourgeois democracy; that is the social revolutionists and Mensheviks. On the occasion of the Cronstadt uprising during which it appeared that the Mensheviks, the social revolutionists, and the white guards had joined forces, Miliukov pronounced himself in favor of the slogan: "Soviets without the Bolsheviks." In developing this idea, he wrote: "Make way for the social revolutionists and Mensheviks" ("Pravda" 1921 quotation from the Paris "Latest News"); because this policy leads to the shifting of the power from the Bolsheviks. Miliukov, leader of the higher bourgeoisie, quite correctly estimated the experiences of all the revolutions, which have proved that the petty bourgeois is incapable of holding power and serves only as a cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, serves only as a step towards the absolute power of the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution in Russia has once again con-

firmed the experience of 1789-94 and 1848-49, and the words of Friedrich Engels, who wrote in his letter to Bebel, dated December 11th, 1884: "Pure Democracy may acquire, for a short time, a temporary importance at the moment of the revolution, in the role of the last anchor of salvation of the entire bourgeoisie, even feudal economy. . . . At any rate, both during the crisis and the day after it, our only adversary will be the entire reactionary mass grouped around pure democracy, and this, I think, must not be lost sight of." (Published in Russian in the "Communist Labor," No. 360, June 9th, 1921, in an article by Comrade Adoretzky, "Marx and Engels on Democracy"; in German, in the work entitled "Political Legacy" by Friedrich Engels, Berlin, 1920, No. 12 of the "International Library of Youth" page 19 letter from Engels to Bebel, dated December 11th, 1884).

## **THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

*(Adopted at the Session of July 5th, 1921)*

The Third World Congress of the Communist International observes with admiration the almost four years struggle of the Russian proletariat for the acquisition and maintenance of its political power. The Congress approves unanimously of the policy of the Russian Communist Party, which has from the very beginning correctly recognized the threatening dangers in every situation and true to the fundamental rules of revolutionary Marxism, always found ways and means for mastering them, and which now also, after the provisional conclusion of the open civil war, has, by means of its policy towards the peasantry, in the questions of concession and the restoration of production, concentrated all the forces of the proletariat under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party until the West European proletariat will come to the assistance of its brothers.

While the World Congress expresses the conviction that it is only owing to this consecutive and clear-sighted policy of the Russian Communist Party that Soviet Russia is regarded as the first and most important citadel of the world revolution, it stigmatizes the treacherous conduct of the Menshevik Parties, which by their campaign in all countries against Soviet Russia and the policy of the Russian Communist Party are strengthening the struggle of capitalist reaction against Russia, and endeavoring to retard the social revolution in the whole world.

The World Congress calls upon the proletariat of all countries to place itself unanimously on the side of the Russian workers and peasants and to realize the October revolution throughout the whole world.

Long live the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the World Revolution!

# **THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS**

**(Struggle Against the Yellow Trade Union International  
of Amsterdam)**

*(Adopted at the 24th Session, July 12th, 1921)*

## **1. The Fallacy of "Neutrality"**

The bourgeoisie is holding the working class in subjection, not only by means of violence but also by the most refined deception. The school, the church, parliament, art, literature, the daily press—all of them represent powerful means of deceiving the working masses, and of imbuing the proletariat with the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

One of the bourgeois ideas, which the ruling classes have succeeded in inculcating among the working masses, is the idea of trade union neutrality, that is, the idea of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions.

For the last decades of modern history, and especially after the close of the imperialist war, the trade-unions throughout Europe and in America have become the largest proletarian organizations, in some countries embracing the entire working class.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the near future of the capitalist system depends on the extent to which the trade unions are going to free themselves from bourgeois influences. Hence, the frantic efforts of the bourgeoisie and their myrmidons, the social-democrats throughout the world, to keep the trade unions at any price in the thrall of bourgeois social-democratic ideas.

The bourgeoisie cannot very well invite the trade unions quite openly to support the bourgeois parties. It is urging them, therefore, not to support any party, the revolutionary Communist Party included, but in reality the bourgeoisie means that the trade-unions must not support the party advocating Communism.

The doctrine of neutrality (or of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions) is not of recent growth. For decades this bourgeois idea has been inculcated in the trade-unions of Great Britain, Germany, America and other countries by the representatives of the priest-ridden Christian trade unions, as well as by the leaders of the bourgeois Hirsch-Duncker trade-unions, the leaders of the old pacific British trade-unions, the representatives of the so-called free trade-unions of Germany and by many representatives of syndicalism. Legien, Gompers, Jouhaux, Sidney Webb have been preaching neutrality to the trade-unions for decades. But in reality the trade-unions have never been and could never be neutral. Not only is neutrality harmful to the trade-unions, it cannot positively be maintained. In the struggle between capital and labor no mass organization of workers can remain neutral. Consequently, it is impossible for the trade-unions to remain neutral in their relations to the bourgeois parties and to the party of the proletariat. This the leaders of the bourgeoisie know full well. But just as it is imperative for the bourgeoisie that the masses should believe in the after life it is imperative for them that the trade unions should maintain neutrality with regard to politics and with regard to the workmen's Communist Party. For the exploitation of and the mastery over the workers the bourgeoisie needs not only the priest, the policeman and the general, but also the trade-union bureaucrats, the "leaders" who preached to the workers neutrality and non-participation in political struggles.

The fallacy of the neutrality idea had become more and more apparent to the advanced proletariat of Europe and America even before the imperialist war. This fallacy be-

came still more apparent as the class contrasts became more acute. When the imperialist mass-murders began in real earnest, the old trade-union leaders were obliged to drop the mask of neutrality and to side quite openly with their respective bourgeoisies.

During the imperialist war those social democrats and trade-unionists who had been preaching neutrality to the trade-unionists for many years, while driving the workers into the service of the most dastardly murder policy, unblushingly assumed the role of agents for certain political parties not for the parties of the working class, but for those of the bourgeoisie.

After the imperialist war these same social-democratic and trade-union leaders have again been trying to put on the mask of trade-union neutrality, etc. Now that the abnormal war conditions are at an end, these agents of the bourgeoisie are trying to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and want to lure away the workers from the path of revolution to the only path which is profitable for the bourgeoisie.

Economics and politics are closely connected. This connection becomes especially evident in such epochs as the present. There is not a single important question of political life which does not concern not only the labor party, but also the trade-unions, and vice versa. If the French imperialistic government orders the mobilization of a certain class for the occupation of the Ruhr basin and for the strangulation of Germany in general, can it be said that this purely political question does not concern the French trade-unions? Can a truly revolutionary French trade-unionist remain neutral, and take up a non-political attitude on such a question? Or to use another illustration,—if there is in England a purely economic struggle such as the present lockout of the miners, can the Communist party declare that this does not concern it, that it is a purely trade-union question? At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the order of the day for millions of workers, when the requisitioning of bourgeois houses is imperative for the solution of



the housing problem of the proletariat, when the practical experiences of life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of the arming of the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period the trade-unions must not take part in such a struggle and must remain neutral, which really means that they must serve the bourgeoisie?

With all the wealth of nomenclature of the political parties in Europe and America, these parties are to be divided into three groups with regard to their nature:

1) Parties of the bourgeoisie; 2) Parties of the petty bourgeoisie (chiefly the social-democrats), and 3) The party of the proletariat. All trade unions, which proclaim themselves to be non-party and declare their neutrality with regard to the above mentioned party groups, are practically supporting the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.

## **2. Amsterdam a Bulwark of Capitalism**

The International Trade Union Association of Amsterdam represents the organization in which the Second International and the Second and a Half International meet each other and join hands. The whole international bourgeoisie looks upon this organization with assurance and confidence. The principal idea of the International Trade Union Association is at present the idea of the neutrality of Trade Unions. It is not mere chance that this watchword is used by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the social democrats, as well as the Right Trade-Unionists to unite the wide masses of workers in Western Europe and America. While the political 2nd International that openly took the side of the bourgeoisie experienced a complete collapse, a certain success may be noted in regard to the International Trade Union Association of Amsterdam that wants to act under cover of the idea of neutrality.

Under the flag of neutrality the Amsterdam Trade Union

Association undertakes the execution of the dirtiest and most difficult commissions of the bourgeoisie: the strangling of the miners' strike in England (that task was fulfilled by the well-known Thomas, who is at the same time president of the Second International and one of the best known leaders of the Amsterdam Yellow Trade Union Association); the decrease of wages, the organized plundering of the German workers for the sins of imperialist German bourgeoisie; Leipart and Grassmann, Wiesel and Bauer, Robert Schmidt and J. H. Thomas, Albert Thomas and Jouhaux, Daszinsky and Zulawsky,—they have all distributed their roles among themselves: some have exchanged their posts as trade-union leaders for ministerial posts in the service of bourgeois governments or for minor government positions, while others who are allied to them in body and soul are at the head of the Amsterdam Trade Union International preaching to the workers of the trade unions neutrality in political struggles.

At the present moment the Amsterdam International Trade Union Association represents the chief support of International Capital. Whoever does not fully understand the necessity of the fight against the false idea of non-political and non-party character of the Trade Unions cannot fight successfully against this capitalist fortress. In order to decide upon the most efficient fighting methods to be used against the yellow Amsterdam International, it will be necessary to clearly and definitely ascertain the mutual relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions of each country.

### 3. The Communist Party and the Trade Unions

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, that clearly recognized the ways and means to be used for the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalist yoke and consciously accepted the Communist program.

The trade unions represent mass organizations of the proletariat which develop into organizations uniting all the workers of a given branch of industry; they include not only

the conscious communists but also the medium and backward ranks of the proletariat, who through the lessons taught by their life's experience are gradually educated to understand Communism. The part played by the trade associations in the period preceding the struggle of the proletariat for the conquest of power, and during the period of struggle for power is in many respects different from the part played by them in the period succeeding the conquest of power. But throughout the different periods the trade unions represent a wider organization, uniting a greater mass of people than the party and the relations between the party and the unions must be the same as between the centre and the periphery. Prior to the securing of power the truly proletarian trade unions have to organize the workers principally on an economic basis to fight for improvements that can be obtained before capitalism is completely defeated. Their principal object, however, must be the organization of the proletarian mass fight against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

During this revolution the truly revolutionary trade unions conjointly with the party organize the masses for the immediate attack on the forts of capitalism and undertake the laying of a foundation for social revolution.

After the power has been secured by the proletariat the trade unions concentrate the greatest part of their activity to the organization of the economic conditions on a Socialist basis.

During all these three phases of the campaign, the trade union must support the proletarian vanguard, the communist party, which takes the lead throughout the proletarian fight.

In order to achieve this end, the communists together with sympathizing elements must organize Communist fractions within the trade unions, ( which must be completely under the control of the Communist Party.

The tactics adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in regard to formation of communist fractions in every trade union proved to be fully up to the

mark during the course of last year and have given good results in Germany, England, France, Italy and a number of other countries. The principles of the Communist International respecting the participation of communists in the trade union movement must not be influenced by the circumstance that considerable numbers of politically inexperienced workers, have lately left the free social democratic trade unions not expecting to have any direct advantage from the membership in the same (as has lately been the case in Germany). It is the task of the Communists to explain to the proletarians, that they will not find salvation in leaving the old trade unions before creating new ones, as this will only turn the proletariat into a disorganized mob; they must be told that it is necessary to revolutionize the trade unions, to expel the spirit of reformism together with the treacherous reformist leaders, and thus convert the trade unions into a real support of the revolutionary proletariat.

#### 4. The Tasks of Our Parties

During the next epoch the principal task of all communists will be to concentrate their energy and perseverance on winning over to their side the majority of workers in all labor unions. They must not be discouraged by the present reactionary tendency of the labor unions, but take part actively in the daily struggles of the unions and win them over to the cause of Communism in spite of all resistance.

The real test of the strength of every Communist Party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labor unions. The party must learn how to influence the Unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist fraction of the union is subject to the control of the party, not the labor union as a whole. If the Communist fractions persevere, if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions.

In France the labor unions are now passing through a wholesome period of fermentation. The working class is

regaining strength after the crisis in the workers' movement and is learning to recognize and punish the past treachery of the reformist Socialist and trade-unionists. Many of the revolutionary trade-unionists of France are still unwilling to take part in the political fight and are prejudiced against the idea of a political proletarian party. They still hold to the idea of neutrality as expressed in the well-known *Charte d'Amiens* of 1906. The point of view of this fraction of the revolutionary trade-unionists may be regarded as a source of great danger for the movement. If this fraction should gain control of the majority in the unions, it would not know what to do with this majority. It would be helpless against the agents of capitalism, the Jouhaux and the Dumoulins.

The revolutionary trade-unionists of France will remain without definite lines of demarcation as long as the Communist party itself lacks such lines. The Communist Party of France must strive to work in friendly cooperation with the best elements of revolutionary trade-unionism. It is, however, essential that the party should rely solely upon its own elements. Sections should be formed wherever three Communists are to be found. The party must at once undertake a campaign against neutrality. It must point out in a friendly but decided manner the defects in the position of revolutionary trade-unionism. This is the only possible way to revolutionize the trade union movement in France and to establish close cooperation between the party and the trade-union movement.

In Italy the situation is very peculiar. The majority of the trade-union members are revolutionary, but the leadership of the Confederation del Lavoro is in the hands of reformists and centrists whose sympathies are with Amsterdam. The first task of the Italian Communists will be to organize a persistent daily struggle in every section in the trade unions; endeavor to systematically and patiently expose the treachery and indecision of the leaders and to wrest the trade-unions from their control. In regard to the revolu-

tionary trade-union elements of Italy, the Italian Communists will have to adopt the same measures as the Communists in France.

In Spain we have a strong revolutionary trade-union movement, which still lacks a clearly defined final purpose, and a young and relatively weak Communist Party. In view of the existing conditions, the party must do everything possible to secure a firm foothold in the Trade Unions. It must support the unions in word and deed, and exercise a clarifying influence on the whole trade-union movement. It must likewise establish friendly relations with the unions and make every effort to organize the whole struggle in common.

Important developments are taking place in the British trade-union movement which is rapidly becoming more and more revolutionary. The mass movement is growing, and the influence of the old trade-union leaders is on the wane. The Party must do its utmost to establish itself firmly in the great Trade Unions (miners, etc.). Every member of the Party must work actively in some trade-union, and must endeavor to make Communism popular through active and persevering work. Every effort must be made to get into closer contact with the masses.

The same process is taking place in America, although at a slower rate. Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labor. On the contrary, they should get into the old trade unions in order to revolutionize them. Co-operation with the best sections of the I. W. W. is imperative; this does not, however, preclude an educational campaign against the prejudices of the I. W. W.

In Japan a great trade-union movement has rapidly come into being, but it lacks an enlightened leadership. The Communistic elements of Japan must support this movement and use every effort to direct it into Marxian channels.

In Czecho-Slovakia, our party is backed by the majority of the working class, but the trade-union movement is, to a

great extent, still in the hands of the social patriots and centrists and is therefore divided by nationalities. This is because the party itself has lacked organization and clearly defined principles among the revolutionary-minded trade-unionists. The party must make a great effort to put an end to these conditions, and to get control of the trade-unions. For this purpose the creation of nuclei and of a united Communist Central trade-union organization to include all nationalities is absolutely indispensable. The utmost efforts must be applied in the direction of uniting the various divided national associations.

In Austria and Belgium the social patriots have with great cunning succeeded in getting control of the trade-union movement. The trade-union movement is the chief field for revolutionary action in these countries. That is why it should have received more attention from the Communist Parties.

In Norway the party which has the majority of workers behind it, must become more influential over the trade-union movement.

In Sweden the Party has not only to contend with reformism, but also with petty bourgeois tendencies in the Socialist movement.

In Germany the Party is gradually getting control of the trade-union movement. On no account should concessions be made to the partisans of the "Leave the Trade-Unions" movement.

This would play into the hands of the social-patriots. All attempts to expel Communists from the unions must be met by constant and energetic resistance if we are to win over to Communism the majority of the organized workers.

##### **5. Relations of the Communist International to the Red Trade-Union International**

These considerations will define the mutual relations to be established between the Communist International on the

one hand, and the Red International of Trade Unions, on the other.

The task of the Communist International is not only to direct the political struggle of the proletariat in the narrow sense of the word, but to guide its entire struggle for liberation, whatever form it may acquire. The Communist International must be not only the arithmetical total of the central organizations of the Communist Parties of different countries. The Communist International must stimulate and coordinate the work throughout class struggle of all proletarian organizations, the purely political organizations, trade unions, the Soviet and cultural organizations, etc.

Quite unlike the Yellow International, the Red International of Trade Unions will in no wise adopt the point of view of non-partyism or neutrality. Any organization which would wish to remain neutral with regard to the Second, the "Two and a Half," and the Third International, would unavoidably become a pawn in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The program of action of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions which the Communist International will lay before the First Congress of Red Trade Unions, will be defended in reality by the Communist Parties alone and by the Communist International. On these grounds alone if we are to succeed in carrying out the new revolutionary tasks of the trade unions, the red trade unions will have to work hand in hand and in close contact with the Communist Party, and the Red International of Trade Unions will have to bring each step of its work in agreement with the work of the Communist International.

The prejudices of neutrality, of "independence," of non-party and non-political tactics, with which certain revolutionary syndicalists of France, Spain, Italy and other countries are infected, are objectively nothing more than a tribute paid to bourgeois ideas. The Red Trade Unions cannot conquer the Yellow Amsterdam International and consequently capitalism without repudiating the bourgeois ideas of independence and neutrality once for all. From the point of



view of economizing and concentrating blows, the formation of a single united proletarian International would unite in its ranks political parties and all other forms of labor organizations. The future will undoubtedly belong to this type of organization. However, in the present transitional period, given the actual variety of trade unions in the different countries, it is unavoidably necessary to create an International Association of Red Trade Unions, which will on the whole stand for the platform of the Communist International, but which will admit members much more freely than is done by the Communist International.

The Third Congress of the Communist International promises its support to the Red International of Trade Unions, which is to be organized on these lines. To bring about a closer union between the Communist International and the Red International of Trade Unions, the Third Congress of the Communist International proposes that it should be represented by three members on the Executive of the Red International of Trade Unions and vice versa.

The program of action which in the opinion of the Communist International should be accepted by the Constituent World Congress of Red Trade Unions, runs approximately as follows:

### **The Program of Action**

1) The acute economic crisis spreading all over the world, the catastrophical fall of wholesale prices, the overproduction of goods combined with an actual lack of sale, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie towards the working class, the tenacious tendency towards the reduction of wages and the throwing of the workers far backwards; the growing exasperation of the masses on one side and the impotence of the old trade unions and their methods on the other,—impose new problems on the revolutionary class trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required. Called forth by the decomposition of capitalism, a new aggressive economic policy of the Trade Unions is

necessary in order to parry the attacks of capital, and strengthen the old position—passing over to the offensive.

2) The basis of the tactics of the trade unions is the direct action of revolutionary masses and their organizations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the state: boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of the factories, armed uprisings and other revolutionary activity, which tend to unite the working class in the fight for Socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) The last year of the struggle has shown with particular vividness the impotence of strictly trade union organizations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produce a weakening effect on the struggle. It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—to pass from a strictly trade union, to an organization of trade unions on the struggle of production. "One union for one enterprise"—this is the militant motto in the organization structure. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way putting this question directly before the members of the unions in the factories and concerns and further, before district and regional conferences, as well as before the national congresses.

4) Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in the given enterprise, independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of

th Red International of Trade Unions is to involve all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative organ. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of the same party, casting aside the broad non-party rank and file workers, should be severely condemned. This would be only a nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meetings as well as upon committees of action and their rank and file members.

5) The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned with it. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed and mainly to the workers engaged in the enterprises, explaining to the latter at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist regime, and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6) The closing down of enterprises and curtailing of the workers' hours are at the present time the most efficient weapon for the cleansing of the industrial establishments of unreliable elements with the help of which the bourgeoisie is compelling the workers to accept the reduction of wages, increasing of the working day and the abolition of collective bargaining. The lock-out is taking more and more definitely a form of direct action on the part of the employers. For this purpose special controlling commissions should be instituted with regard to fulfilling orders controlling raw materials, in order to verify the quantities of available raw material necessary for production, as well as money resources in the banks. Specially elected controlling commissions must investigate in a most careful manner the financial co-relation existing between the given enterprise and other concerns

and the practical task of abolishing commercial mastery should be imposed upon the workers for this purpose.

7) One of the ways of struggling against the closing down of concerns for the purpose of reduction of wages and standard of life, should be the taking hold of the workers of the factories and mills and proceed with production by themselves despite the owners.

Owing to the lack of goods it is highly important to continue production, and the workers should therefore oppose the premeditated closing down of factories and mills. In connection with local conditions and the condition of production, the political situation, the tension of the social struggle, the seizure of the enterprises may and should be followed by other means of pressure upon capital. On taking hold of the concern the management of the same should be confined to factories and workshops committees and a representative of the union specially appointed for the purpose.

8) The economic struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvements of the labor conditions to a much higher degree, as compared with the pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to the pre-war conditions of labor must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class as a consequence of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of the labor conditions. The reference of capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration. The revolutionary trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labor conditions not from the point of view of the competition between rapacious capitalists of different nations, but solely from that of the preservation and the defense of the living labor force.

9. In the case of such tendencies of reducing wages taken up by capitalists of an economic crisis in the country, the task of the revolutionary trade unions should consist in their endeavors to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts.

The workers engaged in the enterprises of public welfare such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns and others, should be drawn in at once, in order that the struggle against the onslaughts of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism.

All ways of resistance, from the separate intermittent strike up to the general strike embracing all large fundamental industries on a national scale, are, in such a case not only advisable but strictly necessary.

10) The trade unions must consider it their practical task to prepare and organize international action in each separate industry. The interruption in transport or coal mining on an international scale is a mighty weapon in the struggle against the reactionary attempts of the world bourgeoisie.

The trade unions must attentively study the course of events all over the world, choosing the most appropriate moment for their economic action, not forgetting for a single instant that international action is possible only when real revolutionary class conscious trade unions are formed on an international scale, having nothing in common with the Yellow Amsterdam International.

11) The belief in the absolute value of collective agreements propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The collective agreement is nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective compacts when the smallest opportunity presents itself for doing so. The respectful attitude toward collective agreements testifies only that the bourgeois conceptions are deeply rooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions, without rejecting as a rule the collective agreements, must realize its relative value and clearly define the methods to abolish these agreements when it proves to be profitable to the working class.

12) The struggle of the labor organizations against the

individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to national and local conditions, should utilize all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared but simultaneously with the declaration of it, there must be organized special detachments for the struggle against scabbing and for counteracting the provocative movement on the part of all kinds of white guard organizations, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government. The Fascisti in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civil white guard organization consisting of ex-commissioned and non-commissioned officers in France and in England—all these organizations pursue the aim of disorganizing and forestalling all the actions of the workers with the purpose not only to replace the strikers by scabs, but to destroy materially their organizations and kill the leaders of the labor movement. The organization of special strike militia and special self-defense detachments is a question of life and death to the workers under similar conditions.

13) These militant organizations should not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and the strike-breaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all freight and products transported to their respective factories and all other enterprises, and the union of the transport workers ought to play a specially prominent part in such cases. The task of stopping the transportation of freight which has fallen on their shoulders can be realized by the unanimous support of all the workers of the given locality.

14) All the economic struggles of the working class should center around the slogan of the Party—"Workers' control over production"—which control ought to be realized as soon as possible without waiting for the ruling classes and the government to prevent the initiation of the same. It is necessary to carry on a merciless struggle against all the attempts of the ruling classes and reformists to estab-

lish intermediary labor affiliations and intermediary control committees. Only when control is realized directly by the workers themselves will the results be definitive. The revolutionary trade unions ought to fight resolutely against that perverted socialism and graft with which the leaders of the old trade unions, aided by the ruling classes, are practising. All the talk of these gentlemen about the peaceable socialization of the industry is done with the sole aim to divert the attention of the working class from revolutionary action and the social revolution.

15). In order to divert the workers from their dire problem and instil in them petty bourgeois aspirations, to advance the idea of workers participating in the profits, which means the return to the workers of an insignificant part of the wealth created by them, and which is called surplus value. This slogan, only meant for the demoralization of the workers, should be met by severe and rigorous criticism: "Not participation in profits, but the entire elimination of all capitalist profit," should be the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

16) For the purpose of crippling or breaking the fighting power of the working class, the bourgeois states have resorted, under the pretense of protecting vital industries, to temporary militarization of individual industrial enterprises or entire branches of industry. For the ostensible purpose of preventing economic disturbances, they introduced compulsory arbitration and exchange of agreements for the further protection of capitalism. Also in the interests of capitalism, the burden of war expenditures has been placed entirely on the shoulders of workers by the introduction of the direct subtraction of taxes from their wages, which turns the employer into a tax-collector. Against these state measures calculated to serve only the interests of the capitalist class the bitterest fight must be waged by the trade unions.

17) While carrying on the struggle for the improvement of labor conditions, the elevation of the living standard of

the masses and the establishment of workers control, it is always necessary to remember that it is impossible to solve all these problems within the limits of the capitalist forms of government. Therefore the revolutionary trade unions wrenching concessions from the ruling classes everywhere, forcing them to legislate socialistic laws, should always clearly explain to the workers that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve that important question. Therefore, every local uprising, every local strike, and every small conflict should be guided by the above mentioned principle. The revolutionary trade unions ought to make these conflicts general, elevating the consciousness of the workers to the comprehension of the inevitability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

18) Every economic struggle is also a political, i. e., a general class struggle. No matter how great a working class section a given country may contain, such a struggle can only acquire a real revolutionary character, and result in the greatest benefit to the entire working class, only when the revolutionary trade unions act in perfect unity and maintain the closest co-ordination with the Communist Party of that country. The theory and practice of fostering a split of the workers in the class struggle into two independent parts is extremely detrimental to the present revolutionary period. This struggle requires the greatest concentration of forces, a concentration characterized by the greatest expression of revolutionary energy of the working class, i. e., of all the Communists and revolutionary elements. Dual actions by the Communist Party on the one hand and the red revolutionary trade unions on the other hand are doomed in advance to failure and miscarriage. Unity of action and organic co-ordination of the Communist Party with the trade unions are therefore preliminary conditions to success in the struggle against capitalism.



## THESIS ON THE WORK OF COMMUNISTS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

*(Adopted at the 22nd Session, July 10th, 1921)*

1) In the period of a proletarian revolution two problems arise for the proletarian co-operatives—(a) to aid the working masses in the struggles for the conquest of political power, (b) where such power has already been seized, to assist them in the work of socialist reconstruction.

2) The old co-operatives pursued the path of Reformism and avoided the revolutionary struggle.

This consumers' co-operative embodied in itself the idea of a slow growth into "Socialism," without the aid of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It preached the political neutrality of the co-operative, in reality concealing under this watchword the subjection of the co-operatives to the political aims of the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

Its internationalism was limited to words. In reality it transforms the international solidarity of the workers into a collaboration of the working class with the bourgeoisie of its own country.

With such a policy the revolution is not furthered but impeded by the co-operatives. Instead of accelerating, they hinder the revolutionary development.

3) The various forms of co-operatives cannot equally serve the proletarian movement, for the consumers' co-operatives are the most adaptable. But among these there are many co-operatives which consist of bourgeois elements. Such co-operatives will never place themselves on the side of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle. Only the

**workers' co-operatives in town and country are capable of doing this.**

**4) The tasks of the Communists in the co-operative movement are as follows:**

- 1) To propagate Communist ideas.**
- 2) To transform the co-operative movement into an instrument of the revolutionary class struggle, without detaching the local societies from the national organization as a whole.**

**It is the duty of Communists to form groups within the Co-operatives whose aim should be to organize a Central Bureau of the Communist Co-operative in every country.**

**The groups, as well as the Central Bureau, must remain in constant touch with the Communist Party and with their representatives on the Co-operative Committees. The Central Bureau must work out the tactics for the Communists in the Co-operative Movement, setting forth the best methods to lead and organize the movement.**

**5) The practical problems which confront the revolutionary co-operatives of the West at any given moment will become clearer in the process of struggle, but even at the present time it is possible to mark out some of them.**

**a) Agitation and propaganda of Communist ideas by printed word and by mouth. A struggle for the emancipation of the Co-operatives from the leadership and the influence of the bourgeois compromiser.**

**b) The alliance of the Co-operatives with the Communist parties and the Red Trade Industrial Unions. The direct and indirect participation of the Co-operatives in the political struggle; in demonstrations and political campaigns of the proletariat.**

**The rendering of material support to the Communist Party and its press, and similar aid to strikers, locked-out workers, etc.**

**c) The struggle against the imperialistic policy of the bourgeoisie, and particularly the struggle against the inter-**

vention of the Entente in the affairs of Soviet Russia and other Soviet countries.

d) The creation not only of ideal and organizational connections, but also of business connections with workers' co-operatives of different countries.

e) The struggle for the speediest establishment of commercial treaties and commercial relations with Soviet Russia and other Soviet Republics.

f) The most active interchange of commodities with these republics.

g) The use of the natural wealth of the Soviet countries by obtaining concessions for the Co-operatives.

6) The functions of the Co-operatives will only fully develop after the triumph of the proletarian revolution. But the experience of Soviet Russia makes it possible to point out certain characteristic features now.

a) The Consumers' Co-operatives must take hold of all affairs connected with the distribution of food and products according to the plans given by the proletarian Government. This will lead the co-operatives towards an unprecedented expansion.

b) The Co-operative must become an organization which connects the small scattered industry of the peasants and handicraftsmen, with the central economic organs of the Proletarian Government. By means of Co-operatives, the latter will direct the work of the small scattered industries on a general plan. The Consumers' Co-operatives will be the organ which collects foodstuffs and raw materials from the small producers, for their transmission to members of co-operative societies and to the government.

c) In addition to this, industrial Co-operatives can bring the small producers together into Common Workshops, which will allow the application of machine work and scientific and technical processes of labor. This will give small industry a technical basis which will render possible the creation of a socialized industry, making for the destruction of

the individualistic psychology of the petty artisan and the development of a collective psychology.

7) Taking into consideration the important parts which the revolutionary co-operatives will play during the epoch of a proletarian revolution, the Third Communist International advises the parties, groups and organizations to carry on energetic propaganda for the idea of Communist Co-operatives and the formation of Communist groups inside the societies, in order to transform the Co-operative movement and bring it into union with the revolutionary trade unions.

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International to organize a Co-operative Department whose duty it shall be to promote the tasks here enumerated; this department shall call meetings, conferences and congresses on an international scale for the realization of these Co-operative aims.

## **THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE WORK OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT**

*(Adopted at the 22nd Session, July 10th, 1921)*

The Third Congress of the International instructs the Executive Committee to form a Co-operative Department; to convene international Co-operative conferences, and organize councils and congresses as the need arises, for the purpose of realizing on an international scale the tasks set forth in the Theses.

The department will also regard as its duties: (a) The strengthening of the activities of Agricultural and Industrial Workers Co-operatives, by the communalization of small, semi-proletarian industries and improvement of their working conditions. (b) To lead the struggle to place the entire national distribution of food-stuffs and products of industry in the hands of the Co-operatives. (c) Propaganda for the principles and methods of revolutionary Co-operation, to gain the aid of the proletarian co-operatives for the material support of the struggling workers. (d) To support the establishment of international trade and financial relations among the various Co-operatives, and to organize their joint production.

## THESIS ON METHODS OF WORK AMONG THE WOMEN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

*(Adopted at the 20th Session, July 8th, 1921)*

1. The Third Congress of the Comintern in conjunction with the Second International Womens' Congress confirms the decision of the First and Second Congresses on the necessity for increasing the work of all the Communist Parties of the East and West among proletarian women. The masses of women workers must be educated in the spirit of Communism and so drawn into the struggle for Soviet Power and into the construction of the Soviet Labor Republic. In all countries the working classes, and consequently the women workers, are faced with the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The capitalist economic system has got into a blind alley, for there is no room for the further development of industrial forces within that system. The general impoverishment of the workers, the impotence of the bourgeoisie to revive production, the development of speculative enterprises, the decay in the production system, unemployment, the fluctuation of prices out of keeping with wages,—all this leads inevitably to the deepening of the class struggle in all countries. This struggle is to decide who shall conduct, administer, and organize production, and upon what system that should be done,—whether it should be in the hands of a clique of bourgeois exploiters, and be carried on upon the principles of capitalism and private property, or in the hands of the producing class and carried on upon a Communist basis.

The newly rising class, the class of producers, must in accordance with the laws of economic production, take the productive apparatus into its own hands, and set up new

forms of public economy. Only in such a way will it be possible to create the necessary impetus for the development of the economic forces to the maximum and for the removal of the anarchy of capitalist production.

So long as the power of government is in the hands of the bourgeois class, the proletariat has no power to organize production. No reforms, no measure, carried out by the democratic or socialistic governments of the bourgeois countries, are able to save the situation. They cannot alleviate the unbearable sufferings of the working women and working men, sufferings which are due to the disorganization of the capitalist system of production, and which are going to last as long as the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Only by seizing the power of government will the proletariat be able to take hold of the means of production, and thus secure the possibility of directing the economic development in the interests of the toilers.

In order to hasten the hour of the decisive conflict between the proletariat and the degenerating bourgeois world, the working class must adhere to the firm and unhesitating tactics outlined by the Third International. The most fundamental and immediate goal determining the methods of work and the line of struggle for the proletariat of both sexes must be the dictatorship of labor.

As the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the vital question before the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, and the construction of Communism is the important task of those countries where the dictatorship is already in the hands of the workers, the Third Congress of the Communist International maintains that the conquest of power by the proletariat, as well as the achievement of Communism in those countries where the capitalist state has already been overthrown, can be realized only with the active participation of the wide masses of the proletarian and semi-proletarian women.

On the other hand the Congress once more calls the attention of all women to the fact that without the support of

the Communist parties in all the tasks and undertakings leading to the liberation and enfranchisement of the women, this task is practically impossible of achievement.

2. The interest of the working class, especially at the present moment, imperatively demands the recruiting of women into the organized ranks of the proletariat, fighting for Communism.

The economic ruin throughout the world is becoming more acute and more unbearable to the entire city and country poor. Before the working class of the bourgeois-capitalist countries the question of the social revolution rises more and more clearly, and before the working class of Soviet Russia the question of reconstructing the public economy of the land on a new communist basis, becomes more and more vital. Both these tasks will be more easily realized, the more active and the more conscious and willing the participation of the women.

3. Wherever the question of the conquest of power arises, the Communist Parties must consider the great danger to the revolution represented by the inert, uninformed masses of women workers, housewives, employees, peasant women, not liberated from the influence of the bourgeois church and bourgeois superstitions, and not connected in some way or other with the great liberating movement of Communism. Unless the masses of women of the East and West are drawn into this movement, they inevitably become the stronghold of the bourgeoisie and the object of counter-revolutionary propaganda. The experience of the revolution in Hungary, where the ignorance of the masses of women played such a pitiful part, should serve, in this case, as a warning for the proletariat of all other countries entering upon the road of social revolution.

On the other hand, the experience of the Soviet Republic showed in practice how important the participation of the women workers and peasants has been in the civil war in the defence of the Republic, as well as in all other activities of the Soviet construction. Facts have proven the import-



ance of the part which the women workers and peasants have already played in the Soviet Republic in the organization of defence, strengthening the rear; the struggle against desertion, and against all sorts of counter-revolution, sabotage, etc. The experience of the Workers Republic must serve as a lesson to all other countries.

Hence, the direct task of the Communist Parties: to spread the influence of the Communist Party to the widest circles of the women population of their countries; organizing a special party body and applying special methods; appealing to the women outside of it, to free them from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the compromising parties, and educating them to be real fighters for Communism, and therefore for the complete enfranchisement of the women.

4. Putting before the Communist Parties of the East and West the direct task of extending the activity of the Party among the women proletariat the Third Congress of the Comintern declares also to the women of the entire world, that their emancipation from age-long slavery and inequality depend upon the victory of communism.

What Communism offers to the women, the bourgeois women's movement will never afford her. So long as the power of capitalism and private property continue to exist, the emancipation of woman from subservience to her husband cannot proceed further than her right to dispose of her property and earnings, as she sees fit, and also to decide on equal terms with her husband, the destiny of their children.

The most definite aim of the feminists—to grant the vote to the women—under the regime of bourgeois parliamentarism, does not solve the question of the actual equalization of women, especially of those of the dispossessed classes. This has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of the working women in those capitalist countries where the bourgeoisie has formally recognized the equality of the sexes. The right to vote does not remove the prime cause of women's enslavement in the family and in society. The substitution of the church marriage by civil marriage does not in the

least alleviate the situation. The dependence of the proletarian woman upon the capitalist and upon her husband as the economic mainstay of the family remains just the same. The absence of adequate laws to safeguard motherhood and infancy and the lack of proper social education render entirely impossible the equalization of woman's position in matrimonial relations. As a matter of fact, nothing that can be done under the capitalist order will furnish the key to the solution of the problem of the relationship of the sexes.

Only under Communism, not merely the formal, but the actual equalization of women will be achieved. Then woman will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the well-being of society.

In other words, only by overthrowing the system of exploitation of man by man, and by supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist organization of industry will the full emancipation of woman be achieved. Only Communism affords the conditions which are necessary in order that the natural functions of woman—motherhood—should not come into conflict with her social obligations and hinder her creative work for the benefit of society. On the contrary, Communism will facilitate the most harmonious and diversified development of a healthy and beautiful personality that is indissolubly bound together with the whole life and activities of entire society. Communism should be the aim of all women who are fighting for complete emancipation and real freedom.

But, Communism is also the final aim of the proletariat. Consequently, the struggle of the working women for this aim must be carried on in the interests of both, under a united leadership and control, as "one and indivisible" to the entire world movement of the revolutionary proletariat.

5. The Third Congress of the Comintern confirms the

basic proposition of revolutionary Marxism, i.e., that there is no "specific woman question" and no "specific women's movement," and, that every sort of alliance of working women with bourgeois feminism, as well as any support by the women workers of the treacherous tactics of the social-compromisers and opportunists leads to the undermining of the forces of the proletariat, delaying thereby the triumph of the social revolution and the advent of Communism, and thus also postponing the great hour of women's ultimate liberation.

Communism will be achieved not by "united efforts of all women of different classes," but by the united struggle of all the exploited.

In their own interests the masses of proletarian women should support the revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party and take a most active and direct part in all mass-actions and all forms of civil war on a national and international scope.

6. Woman's struggle against her double oppression (capitalism and her home and family subservience), at its highest stage of development assumes an international character, becoming identified with the struggle of the proletariat of both sexes under the manner of the Third International for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet System.

7. While warning the women workers against entering into any form of alliance and co-operation with the bourgeois feminists, the Third Congress of the Comintern, at the same time, points out to the working women of all countries that to cherish any illusions of the possibility for the proletarian women to support the Second International or any of the opportunistically inclined elements adhering to it without causing serious damage to the cause of women's emancipation—will prove infinitely detrimental for the liberating struggle of the proletariat. The women must constantly remember that woman's present-day slavery has grown out of the bourgeois order. In order to put an end

to women's slavery it is necessary to inaugurate the new Communist organization of society.

Any support rendered to the Second and the Second-and-a-half Internationals hampers the social revolution, delaying the advent of the new order. The more resolutely and uncompromisingly the women masses will turn away from the Second and the Second-and-a-half Internationals, the more certain will be the triumph of the Social Revolution. It is the sacred duty of all women Communists to condemn those who flinch from the revolutionary tactics of the Comintern and to demand their expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. The women ought to remember that the Second International never created and never attempted to create any organ, whose task would be to carry on an active struggle for the complete emancipation of woman. The organization of an International alliance of women socialists was started outside the Second International by the initiative of the men workers themselves. The women Socialists who devoted themselves to work among women had neither representation nor a decisive vote in the Second International.

At its first Congress, in 1919, the Third International defined its attitude towards enlisting the support of women in the struggle for the dictatorship. On its initiative, the first conference of women Communists was convened in 1920 and an International Secretariat for work among women was constituted with a permanent representation in the Executive Committee of the Comintern. It is the duty of all class-conscious women workers to break unconditionally with the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals and support whole-heartedly the revolutionary tactics of the Comintern.

8. The support of the Comintern by the women workers of all occupations should, first of all, express itself in their willingness to enter into the ranks of the Communist Party of their respective countries. In those countries and parties where the struggle between the Second and Third Internationals has not yet come to a head, it is the duty of the

women workers to support, by all means, the Party and groups that stand for the Comintern and carry on a relentless warfare against all vacillating and avowedly treacherous elements, irrespective of any authorities holding a different view. The class-conscious women who are striving for emancipation should not remain in any parties which have not joined the Comintern. Those who are opposed to the Third International are the enemies of the emancipation of women.

The place of conscious working women in Eastern and Western countries is under the flag of the Communist International and in the ranks of the Communist Parties of their own countries. All wavering on the part of the working women and the fear to sever connection with the parties of compromise, and the hitherto acknowledged authorities have a pernicious influence on the satisfactory progress of the great proletarian struggle which is assuming the nature of an open and relentless civil war on a World scale.

### **Methods and Form of Work Among Women**

Owing to all the above mentioned reasons, the Third Congress of the Comintern holds that the work among the proletarian women should be carried on by the Communist Parties of all countries, on the following basis:

1. Women must be enlisted as full-fledged members of the Party, on the basis of equality and independence, in all militant class organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, factory committees, etc.
2. To recognize the importance of recruiting women into all branches of the active struggle of the proletariat (including military service for the defence of the proletariat) and into the construction of new forms of society and the organization of industry and life on a communist basis.
3. To recognize the functions of motherhood as a social function, promoting and supporting appropriate measures to aid and protect women as the bearer of the human race.

Being earnestly opposed to the separate organization of women into all sorts of parties, unions, or any other special

women's organizations, the Third Congress, nevertheless, believes that in view of: a) the present conditions of subjection prevailing not only in the bourgeois-capitalist countries, but also in countries under the Soviet system, undergoing transition from capitalism to communism; b) the great inertness and political ignorance of the masses of women, due to the fact that they have been for centuries barred from social life and to age-long slavery in the family, and, c) the special functions imposed upon women by nature—childbirth, and the peculiarities attached to this, calling for the protection of her strength and health in the interests of the entire community, the Third Congress therefore considers it necessary to find special methods of work among the women of the Communist Parties and establishes a standard of special apparatus within the Communist Parties for the realization of this work. The apparatus for this work among the women in the Party should be the sections or committees for work among women, organized by all party committees commencing with the Executive Committee and ending with the city districts or village party committees. This decision is obligatory for all parties attached to the Comintern.

The Third Congress points out that, among the tasks set before the Communist Parties carried out through the sections are: 1) to educate the wide masses of women in the spirit of Communism, drawing them into the ranks of the Party; 2) to fight against the prejudices of male proletarians towards the women, strengthening in the working men and women the consciousness of mutual interests of the proletarians of both sexes; 3) to increase the will-power of the women by drawing them into all kinds and forms of political struggle, to awaken their activity and participation in the struggle against capitalist exploitation in the bourgeois countries, by mass demonstrations against the high cost of living, against the housing conditions, unemployment and in other revolutionary forms of the class war; the participation of the women workers in the construction of the Communist

State and in the Soviet republics; 4) to put on the Order of Business among the tasks of the parties and to pass rules tending to the direct enfranchisement of the women, recognizing her equality and the protection of her interests as the perpetuator of the race; 5) to wage a well-planned fight against traditions, bourgeois customs and religion, clearing the way for better and more harmonious relations between the sexes, protecting the physical and moral strength of laboring humanity.

The entire work of the sections or committees should be carried on under the direct control and responsibility of the Party Committees. A member of the local Party Committee should be at the head of such section or committee. Communists should be members of these committees or collegiums wherever it is possible.

All measures and problems of the Committees or sections of work among the women must not be handled by them independently, but in the Soviet Republics through the respective economic and political organs (branches of the Soviets, Commissariats, Trade Unions, etc.) and, in the capitalist countries, with the support of the respective organs of the proletarian parties, unions, factory Committees, etc.

In all places where the communist parties exist illegally or semi-legally, the Party should organize an illegal apparatus for work among women. In all illegal bodies there must be at least one party member to organize the women for illegal work.

The present period requires that Trade and Industrial Unions should form the principle basis for work among women, both in countries which still carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, as well as in the Soviet Labor Republics.

The spirit with which the work among women should be imbued is that of the unity of the Party movement, of an intact organization, of independent initiative and independent of Commissions and Sections aiming at a speedy and complete emancipation of women, to be brought about by the

Party. What should be striven after is not parallelism in activity, but assistance in the activity of the Party by means of self-development and initiative of the working women.

### **Work of the Party Amongst Women in Soviet Countries**

It is the task of the Sections of the Soviet Labor Republics to educate the masses of working women in a spirit of communism, by attracting them to the Communist Party; to inspire and develop activity and self-reliance, by drawing them into the work of constructive Communism and bringing them up as staunch defenders of the Communist International.

It is the task of the Sections to attract the women to every form of Soviet construction, including questions of defense, as well as all the many economic plans of the Republic.

In the Soviet Republics the Sections should see that all the regulations of the 8th Congress of Soviets regarding the attraction of working and peasant women to the work of building up and organizing public production, as well as their participation in the work of all those organs which direct, manage, control and organize production should be carried out. The Sections should participate through their representatives and through the Party organs in the elaboration of new laws and exercise an influence on the alteration of such as require much alteration in the interest of the enfranchisement of women. The Sections should take the greatest interest and show most initiative in the development of those laws which deal with the protection of the labor of women and children.

It is the duty of the Sections to attract the greatest possible number of working and peasant women to all election campaigns of Soviets, as also to see to it that working and peasant women are elected as members of Soviets and Executive Committees.



The Sections should make it their business to assist in every way possible in making a success of political and economic campaigns carried on by the Party.

It is the task of the Sections to assist the growth of skilled women labor by means of professional education, as well as to facilitate the admission of the working and peasant women to the corresponding educational establishments.

The Sections should facilitate the entrance of working women into the Commission for the Protection of Labor in various enterprises, and should also accelerate the activity of the auxiliary Committees for the Protection of Mother and Child.

The Sections should make it their business to assist the development of all social institutions, such as communal kitchens, laundries, repairing shops, institutions of social education, communal houses, etc., which, basing as they do, the conditions of life upon a new Communist principle, ameliorate the difficulties which women experience during the transition period; assist their rapid enfranchisement and transform the slave of the family and the home into a free co-worker in the great social renaissance, a fellow creator of new forms of life.

Through the organizers working among women elected by the Communist fraction of trade unions, the Sections should assist in the education of the women workers, members of the trade unions, in the spirit of Communism.

The Sections should look after the due attendance of the working women at all general factory delegates conferences.

The Sections should carry out a systematic distribution of auxiliary workers, for all the Soviet, economic and trade union work.

The Sections must first of all take deep and firm root among the proletarian women, wage-earners, and organize propaganda among employees, housewives, and peasant women.

To build up a firm connection between the Party and the mass of the people, and to spread its influence over the non-

party members of society, and also, to develop the method of the education of the women folks in the spirit of Communism, by teaching self-activity and participation in practical work, the Women's Sections are to organize delegate meetings of women workers.

The delegate meetings are the best means to educate the women workers and peasants, and to spread the Party influence amongst the backward masses of women workers and peasants.

These delegates meetings are formed from factory and shop representatives of a certain region, city or volost. In Soviet Russia, the women delegates are drawn into all kinds of political and economic campaigns. They are sent into different committees in industry, are invited to control Soviet institutions, and used for regular work in the Soviet Departments, in the capacity of clerks, for two months (Law of 1921).

The women delegates should be elected at general meetings of the shop workers, of the housewives and employees, according to a certain rate of representation fixed by the Party. The Women's Sections are obliged to carry on propaganda and agitation among the delegates, for which purpose special meetings of women delegates are to be arranged not less than twice a month. The delegates are requested to make reports of their activities either in the shops where they work, or at meetings arranged in the city districts. The delegates should be elected for a period of three months.

Another form of agitation among the women is the organization of large non-party conferences of women workers and peasants. Representatives to conferences are to be elected at meetings held for women workers—at their place of work, and for peasant women—in the villages.

The Section for work among women is charged to call the conferences, as well as to supervise their work.

In order to make the best use of the experience that the women workers have secured by participating in the work

and activities of the Party, the Branches and Committees carry on an elaborate campaign of propaganda by word of mouth and press. The Sections arrange meetings and discussions for the women workers at the shops and for the housewives at the city clubs. They exercise control over the delegates meetings and carry on house to house agitation.

To train active workers among the women, and to widen their understanding of communism, the party must organize with the help of the Sections, special courses for work among the women, at each Party school or school for Soviet work.

### **In Capitalist Countries**

The current tasks of the Committees or Sections for work among women are initiated by the circumstances of the period. On the one hand, the ruin of world economy, the rampant growth of unemployment; especially effecting the women workers and tending to increase prostitution, the high cost of living, the acute housing, question, and the threats of new imperialistic laws; on the other hand, the unceasing strikes in all countries, repeated outbursts of armed uprisings of the proletariat, and the ever more violent civil war throughout the world, are the prologue to the inevitable world social revolution.

The women's committees must put forward the most important tasks of the proletariat, fight for the unabridged slogans of the Communist Party, of the Communists against the bourgeoisie and social-compromisers. The committees must see to it that the women are not only registered as equal members of the Party, trade unions and other militant workers organizations, which are waging the fight against all injustice or inequality of the women workers, but also that the women should be allowed to occupy responsible positions in the Party, Union or Cooperative on an equal basis with the men.

The Committees or Sections must facilitate the work of

the wide masses of the women proletarians and peasant women in utilizing their franchise in the interests of the Communist Parties during election to the parliament and to all the public institutions, explaining at the same time the limitations of those rights, in the sense of weakening the capitalist exploitation, promoting enfranchisement of women, and replacing parliamentarism by the Soviet system.

The Committees must also aid the women workers, employees and peasant women to take a most active part in the elections of revolutionary, economic and political soviets of workers deputies, obtaining representation in them; awakening the political activity of the housewives, and carrying on a propaganda of the Soviet idea among the peasant women. The special concern of the Committees must be the realization of the principle of equal pay for equal work. It is the task of the Committee to start a campaign, drawing men and women workers into it, for free, universal education, aiding the women to become highly qualified in their work.

The Committees should see to it that women Communists take part in the legislative, municipal and other legislative organizations, in fact, wherever women have the right to vote.

While participating in the legislative, municipal and other organizations of bourgeois States, Communist women should strictly adhere to the tactics of the party, not concerning themselves so much with the realization of reforms within the limits of the bourgeois world order, as taking advantage of every live question and demand of the working women, as watch-words by which to lead the women into the active mass struggle for these demands, through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Committees or Sections must explain the disadvantages and waste of the system of individual house keeping, the bad bringing up and education of the children by the bourgeoisie, rallying the women workers to the struggle for prac-

tical improvement of the conditions of the working class, waged or supported by the Party.

The Committees must aid in recruiting the women to the Communist Party from the Trade Unions, for which purpose the Communist fraction of the Trade Unions appoints an organizer for work among the women, under the direction of the Party and the local branch. The entire work of the Committee must be carried on with one purpose in view: the development of the revolutionary activity of the masses and the hastening of the social revolution.

### **In Economically Backward Countries (the East)**

In conjunction with the Communist Party the Women's Section should do everything possible to achieve in industrially weak countries, the recognition of the legal equality, the equality both of rights and obligations, of women in the Parties, Unions and other organizations of the working class.

The Sections or Committees should carry on, in conjunction with the Party, a struggle against prejudice, religious customs and habits which maintain an oppressive hold upon the women; to achieve this, it is also necessary to carry on propaganda among the men.

The Communist Party, together with the Sections or Commissions, should carry out the principle of the equality of women in matters of education of children, family relations and general social life.

The Sections should look for support in their work, first of all, among the large classes of women who are exploited by capitalism in the capacity of workers in home industries (Koustar), as laborers on rice, cotton and other plantations, and assist in the general establishment of communal workshops and home (Koustar) co-operatives; this applies especially to all Eastern peoples living within the borders of Soviet Russia; the Sections should also assist in the general organization of all women engaged in plantation work with the working men united in trade unions.

The raising of the general educational level of the popula-

tion is one of the best means of fighting the general stagnation of the country as well as religious prejudices. The Committees or Sections should, therefore, assist in the opening of schools for grown-ups and children, such schools also to be accessible to the women. In bourgeois countries the Committees should carry on a direct agitation to counteract the influence of the bourgeois schools.

Wherever possible, the Sections or Committees should carry the agitation into the homes of the women and utilize the field work of the women for purposes of agitation. They should also organize clubs for working women, doing everything to attract to these clubs the most backward section of the women. These clubs should represent cultural and educational centers and model institutions, illustrating what can be achieved by women for their emancipation, through such means of self-activity, as the organization of creches, kindergartens, schools for adults and so forth.

Special clubs should be organized for nomadic peoples.

In Soviet lands the Sections, together with the Party, should assist in the transformation of the existing pre-capitalist forms of production and economics into a communal form of production. They should be practically propagated, in a manner to convince the working women that the former home-life and home-production oppressed and exploited them, while communal labor will emancipate them.

With regard to the peoples of the East who live within the borders of Soviet Russia, the Sections should take care that Soviet legislation should equalize men and women, and that the interests of the women should be properly protected. For this purpose, the Sections should assist in appointing women to the position of judges, and as members of juries in national Courts of law.

The Sections should also get the women to participate in Soviets, taking care that working and peasant women should be elected into the Soviets and Executive Committees. All work among the women proletariat of the East should be done on a class basis. It should be the task of the sections

to expose the powerlessness of the Moslem feminists in the solution of the question of the enfranchisement of women. For enlightening purpose in all the Soviet countries of the East, the intelligent feminine forces should be utilized, as, for instance, women teachers and sympathizers, avoiding all tactless and vulgar treatment of religious faiths and national traditions. The Sections or Committees working among the women of the East should definitely fight against nationalism and the hold of religion on the women's minds.

All of the organizations of the workers should, in the East as well as in the West, be built not upon the basis of defending national interest, but upon the unity of the International proletariat of both sexes striving for the same class aims.

*Notice:* The work among the Eastern women being of great importance, and at the same time representing a new problem for the Communist Parties, the Conference deems it necessary to add to those theses special instructions on the methods of communist propaganda among the women of the Eastern countries, appropriate to their local habits and conditions.

### **Propaganda and Agitation Methods**

In order to fulfill the principle task of the Sections, dealing with the Communist education of the large masses of the proletariat, and in order to reinforce this body of fighters, it is necessary that all Communist Parties of the West and of the East should realize that the principle of work among women is "agitation and propaganda by deed."

Agitation by deed, first of all, signifies an ability to arouse a sense of independence in the working women, to eradicate the distrust in themselves and, by attracting them to the practical work of construction, to teach them by practical experience, that every conquest of the Communist Party, that every action which is directed against the capitalist exploitation, is one more step toward the improvement of the position of women. The method which the Communist Party and its Sections for work among women should use, can be

expressed in the following words: "From experience and action, to a knowledge of the ideas of Communism and of its theoretical principles."

In order that the Section should represent organs not of verbal propaganda alone, but also of activity, it is necessary that they should work in contact with the Communist Fractions of the various enterprises and workshops, for which purpose the latter should supply an organizer for the work among the women of the respective enterprise or workshop.

The Sections should come into contact with the trade unions through their representatives or organizers who are appointed for that purpose by the trade union fraction, and who should carry on work under the direction of Sections.

Propaganda, by deed, of Communist ideas in Soviet Russia, signifies that all the women workers, peasant women, housewives and employees in all spheres of Soviet life, from the army and militia down to every enfranchised Oblast (district) should be drawn into the work on the organization of Communal Housekeeping of establishing the necessary number of institutions for Public Education, institutions for the Protection of Motherhood, and so forth. A special task is to draw the labor women into the bodies that control production, etc.

Active propaganda, by deeds, in the capitalist countries, means first of all the enlistment of the women workers to take part in strikes, demonstrations and other forms of the class struggle, fortifying and enlightening the revolutionary will and consciousness; the recruiting of women workers to all sorts of Party activity, their utilization for purposes of illegal work, particularly in despatch service, the organization of party "Saturdays" or "Sundays" at which all women sympathizers of communism, the wives of labor and professional men, in this way learn to be useful to the Party. The principle of propaganda by acts and deeds is also aided by drawing the women into all political, economic or educational



campaigns, from time to time carried on by the Communist Parties.

While organizing the feminine forces for the Party the Sections must, first of all, leave deep and firm roots among the women workers, developing propaganda activity also among the housewives, employees and peasant women.

In order to carry out the work of propaganda by word of mouth, according to a plan, the Sections must arrange meetings in the factories and workshops, also open meetings for women workers and employees according to profession or location, as well as general public meetings of housewives. They must see to it that canvassers and organizers are elected by the Communist groups of the trade unions, co-operative and industrial councils in capitalist states, and that women members are elected in all the organizing, controlling and administrative bodies of the Soviet institutions. In a word the labor women must be elected to all organizations, which in capitalist countries must be used to revolutionize the exploited and oppressed masses, and assist them in their struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat; and in Soviet countries to such organizations as serve to defend and realize Communism.

The Sections must delegate experienced women Communists as workers or employees to enterprises where great numbers of women are employed. These comrades must settle down in large Proletarian districts and centers, as practiced with success in Soviet Russia. In the same way as the working women's organizations of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia organize meetings and conferences of delegates not belonging to any party, the Communist women's committee in the capitalist countries must convene public meetings of women workers, female employees of every kind, peasant women and housewives, to discuss various questions and needs of the day, and elect committees to serve as connecting links between their respective constituencies and the communist women's organizations and to attend to the questions raised. They should also send speakers represent-

ing their views to gatherings of opposing organizations. Public propaganda by means of meetings, etc., must be supplemented by constant and regular home propaganda.

Each communist woman engaged in this work should not have more than ten women visit at their homes, on whom she ought to call regularly at least once a week, and also on every occasion of importance to the Communist Party, or the Proletarian masses.

In order to promote agitation, organization and education among the masses by written word, the women's Section of the Communist Parties are charged to work for the establishment: 1) of a central women's communist journal in every country, 2) to secure the appearance of women's department in the Communist press, as also the printing of articles in the political and industrial papers. They must provide editors for such publications, and find adequate assistance for them in the ranks of professional and militant women. The Sections must publish and distribute simple, stimulating and adequate literature in pamphlets and leaflets. They must strive to make the best possible use of their members.

Women Communists should be sent to attend courses in Party schools in order to intensify their class consciousness and to prepare them for work among the masses of women. Special courses, lectures and discussions for women can be organized only in case of special conditions and urgent necessity.

In order to enhance the spirit of comradeship among male and female workers it is desirable not to organize separate courses of schools, but to establish, in the general Party schools, sections for courses for work among women. The Sections exercise a right to elect a certain number of their women members for attendance at the general Party courses.

Construction of the Sections or Committees of work Sections among the women must be organized by each Party

**Local Executive, District Executive and the Central Executive Committee of the Party,**

Each party decides for itself the numbers of members in these Sections or Committees. The number of members of the Sections, who are paid by the Party, is also fixed by each party according to the possibilities.

The director or chairman of the local Committees or Sections must be a member of the local Party Committee. Where this is not the case, the Director of the Section is present at all meetings of the Party Committee with the right of decisive vote on all questions of the women's Committees and with a consultative vote on all other questions.

Besides the duties of the district Section or Committee above mentioned, the following tasks are also part of their work: to maintain connections between the Sections of one districts; to mobilize the efficient party workers for work of the district Sections or Committees; to facilitate the exchange of material between the local branches; to supply the district with literature; distribute agitators among the districts; to mobilize the efficient party workers for work among women; to call district conferences of the women Communists, representatives of branches, with a representation of one or two from each Branch, at least twice a year; to call non-party conferences of women-workers, peasant women and housewives of a particular district. The members of the Section or the Committee are approved by the provincial Committee or the county Committee on recommendation by the Director of the Section. The director as the other members of the county Committees and province Committees, are elected at the conferences of the county.

Members of the district or local Sections or Committees are elected at a general city, county or district conference, or are appointed by the respective Section in agreement with the Party Committee. If the director of the Section is not a member of the district Party Committee, he has the right to be present at all meetings of the party Committee with a

decisive vote on all questions of the Branch, and with a consultative vote on all other questions.

Besides all the functions, above mentioned, which are the duties of the district Sections, the Central section must fulfill the following additional functions: Instruct the Sections and their workers; investigate the work of the Section; take charge, in connection with the respective organs of the party, of the transfer of workers from one Section to another; observe the conditions and development of work, considering the changes in the legal or economic situation of the women, through its representatives or appointees; participate in Special Committees, solving the questions of bettering the conditions of existence of the working class, protection of labor, protection of Childhood, etc.; publish a central "page" and edit periodical journals for women; call conferences of the representatives of all the district Sections not less than once a year; organize agitational excursions of instructors on work among the women of the country; take charge of the recruiting of women and of the participation of all Sections in all sorts of political and economic campaigns and demonstrations of the Party; send delegates to the International Secretariat of Women Communists; take charge of the annual International Women's day.

If the Director of the women's Section of the Executive Committee of the Party is not a member of the Executive Committee, he has the right to be present at all the meetings of the Executive Committee with a decisive vote on all questions concerning the Sections, and with a consultative vote on all others. The director of the Section or the chairman of the Committee is appointed by the Central Executive or is elected at the general Party Congress. The decisions and resolutions of all Sections or Committees are subject to the final sanction of the respective Party Committee.

### **Work on an International Basis**

The direction of the work of the Communist Parties of all countries, uniting the women workers for the tasks set by

the Comintern, and drawing the women of all countries and nations into the revolutionary struggle for the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the working class, on a world basis, is the task of the Women's Secretariat of the Comintern.

# **INTERNATIONAL UNION AMONG WOMEN COMMUNISTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF WOMEN COMMUNISTS**

*(Adopted at the Session of July 11th, 1921)*

The Second International conference of women communists calls upon the Communist Parties of all Western and Eastern countries to select international correspondents, through their respective Women's Committees, in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Third International.

Each of these correspondents is pledged, in accordance with the regulations we refer to, to maintain constant relations with the International women correspondents of other countries, as well as with the international Secretariat of Communist Women in Moscow, as the administrative organ of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The various Communist Parties are bound to supply their respective correspondents with the technical means required to enable them to keep up relations among themselves and with Moscow. Once in every six months the international women correspondents gather for consultation and exchange of views with the representative of the International Women's Secretariat, while the latter is also empowered to call emergency meetings at any time.

In conjunction with the Executive Committee and in close touch with the international correspondents of various countries, the International Women's Secretariat at Moscow is to fulfil the duties imposed upon it by the regulations. In particular it must foster by word and deed the development of the communist women's movement in those countries where

it is still too weak. It must further the communist women's movement in all the Western and Eastern countries, giving it unified directions for activity and combat; it must inaugurate national and international action of women, under the guidance and vigorous support of the communists, and also initiate national and international movements, tending to widen and intensify the class struggle of the proletariat through the impetus lent it by the women. In order to establish close and regular connections with the communist women's movement of all countries, the International Women's Secretariat of Moscow attaches to itself an auxiliary secretariat organ for work in Western Europe. This latter organization is to do preliminary work for the Women's International Secretariat and is to be merely an Executive, not a legislative organ, bound in its activity by the decisions and directions of the general secretariat in Moscow and of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

The Western European Auxiliary organization is to have at least one permanent representative on the General Secretariat. In so far as the composition and the scope of activity of the general secretariat is already fixed by the regulations, the Executive Committee of the Third International, in conjunction with the International Women's Secretariat, likewise decides upon the construction, composition and activity of the auxiliary organization.

## FORMS AND METHODS OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY AMONG WOMEN

*(Adopted at the Session of June 13th, 1921)*

The Second International Women's Conference at Moscow declares: The decay of capitalist industry and of the civil order resting on it, makes it ever more and more imperative, and imposes it as a life's necessity and duty, for the proletariat to carry on the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of political power and the establishment of its dictatorship, which can only be achieved if the wide masses of the working women consciously, determinedly and self-sacrificingly join hands with the men in the struggle. In those countries where the proletariat has already seized the power and has already established its dictatorship in the form of the Soviet system, as in Soviet Russia, it is impossible for the proletariat to maintain the power against national and international counter-revolution, and to start the up-building of the emancipating communist order, unless the wide masses of the working women are imbued with the clear and unshaken conviction that the work of defence and reconstruction is also their work.

The Second International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow therefore calls upon the Communist Parties of all countries, in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the Third International to exert themselves in the most energetic manner, and see to it that the wide masses of the working women be rallied around the banner of Communism and be aroused for the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary construction; that they be organized and trained to join the ranks of the Communist Parties and to take part in the revolutionary struggle



and revolutionary construction, and that the will, power and the capabilities of the masses of women be made class-conscious, fortified and aroused. In order that this aim be achieved, all the Communist Parties affiliated to the Third International are pledged to institute women's committees in all their organizations and institutions from the smallest to the largest, under the directions of one of the members of the Party, whose task it should be to carry on agitation and education work among the masses of working women. They should also see to it that the working women have their representatives in all bodies of the Party. These Women's Committees are not to form isolated nuclei within the Communist Party, but should serve as administrative organs thereof for certain definite tasks. These are to mobilize and agitate the masses of working women for the struggle for the conquest of political power and for Communist construction. They are therefore to work at all times in close organic contact with the Party as a whole, but they must possess the necessary elasticity and freedom to work out such methods and forms of work which they regard as proper for the successful carrying on of activity, in accordance with the peculiarity of women's nature, and the peculiar position which women still occupy in the social scale and in the family. The theses worked out by the Conference is a guide for the activity of the Women Committees. The Women's Departments of the Communist Parties must always bear in mind the double task imposed upon them; to instil clear understanding and determined will-power among the ever wider circles of women for the class struggle, against exploiting capitalism and for Communism; and secondly, to transfer them into intelligent self-sacrificing helpers in communist constructive work, after the proletarian revolution has achieved its success. Out of the ranks of the awakened women masses the Communist Parties of all countries must form a central army of trained comrades which should be able to take the lead. The women's organizations of the Communist Parties must bear in mind that it is

not only the written and spoken words that can serve as methods which must be applied, but also the co-operation of organized Communist Women in all the spheres of activity of struggle and of construction carried on by the Communist Party, also the active participation of the working women, in all the actions and fights of the revolutionary proletariat, such as strikes, general uprisings, street demonstrations and armed rebellions.

## **THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE YOUNG COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

*(Adopted at the 24th Session, July 24th, 1921)*

1. The Young Socialist Movement arose as a consequence of the acute capitalist exploitation of the young workers, as a reaction against the attack of the bourgeois militarism to poison the minds of the young workers with the bourgeois national ideology, and as a revolt against the neglect of the economic, political and cultural demands of the young workers by the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions in the majority of countries.

The creation of Young Socialist organizations in most countries took place without the assistance of the Social-Democratic Party and Trade Unions, continually increasing in their opportunism and reformism, and in some countries, the Young Socialist organizations were formed even directly against the will of these organizations. The Reformist Social-Democratic Party and trade unions see in the revolutionary Young Socialist organizations a serious menace to their opportunist policy. By bureaucratic measures and the discouraging of all independence, they attempt to retard the Young Socialist Movement, to alter its character, and impose their policy upon it.

2. The imperialist war and the attitude of the Social-Democratic parties in the majority of countries towards it, necessarily led to the contradictions between the Social-Democratic parties and international revolutionary Young Socialist organizations becoming more acute, and to open conflicts. During the war the condition of the young workers as a consequence of mobilization and military service, the increased exploitation in the war industries, and mili-

tarization at home became intolerably worse. The best section of Young Socialists opposed nationalism and the war, split off from the Social-Democratic parties, and took up their own political action (the International Young Socialist Conference in Berne in 1915, Jena 1916).

In its struggle against the war, the Young Socialist organizations were supported by the best of the revolutionary groups of the adult organizations, and thus became the rallying point of revolutionary forces. In this manner the Young Socialist organizations undertook the functions of a revolutionary party, and became the vanguard in the revolutionary struggle, and politically independent organizations.

3. With the establishment of the Communist International, and the Communist parties in the various countries, the role of revolutionary Young Socialist organizations in the general proletarian movement changed. Owing to their economic position and their peculiar psychology, the Young Workers are more susceptible to Communist ideas, and, in the struggle, display a greater revolutionary enthusiasm than the adult workers; but the role of vanguard in the form of independent political action and political leadership has been taken over by the Communist Party. The existence of the Young Communist organizations as politically independent and leading organizations, must lead to the existence of two competing Communist Parties, which will be distinguished only by the ages of their members.

4. The functions of the Young Communist organizations at the present time consist in organizing the masses of young workers and drawing them into the Communist fighting front. The time has passed when the Young Communist Organizations could remain numerically small propaganda organizations. As a method of winning the broad masses of young workers we must consider new methods of agitation and the introduction of a leadership of economic struggles.

In accordance with its past, the Young Communist organizations must extend and increase their educational work.

The basis of Communist education in the Young Communist movement is the active participation in all revolutionary struggles, closely bound with the teaching of Marxism.

A further important task of the Young Communist organizations in the immediate future is the breaking up of the Centrist and Social-Democratic ideology among the young workers, and the removal of the latter from the influence and leadership of the Social-Democrats. At the same time the Young Communist organizations must do everything in the development of the mass movement, to rejuvenate the movement by giving up its older members to the Communist Parties.

The fundamental difference between the Young Communist organizations and the young centrist and social-democratic organizations lies in their participation in all political problems; in the work and construction of Communist parties, and in the active participation in revolutionary struggle.

5. The relations between the Young Communist organizations and the Communist Party are fundamentally different to those of the revolutionary Young Socialist organizations and the Social-Democratic Parties. In the general struggle for the realization of proletarian revolution, it is necessary to have the greatest possible unity and the strongest centralization. The political leadership internationally can only be conducted by the Communist International, and nationally by the various national sections. The duty of the Young Communist organizations is to submit to this political leadership (programme, tactics and political directions), and to join the general revolutionary front. In view of the varying stages of revolutionary development of the Communist parties in various countries it is necessary that the application of this principle in exceptional cases be determined by the Executive Committees of the Communist International and the Young Communist International, in accordance with the special circumstances of the case. The relation of the Young Communist organizations, which have

organized their ranks on the basis of the strictest centralization, to the Communist Party, the bearer and the leader of the proletarian revolution, will be that of iron discipline. The Young Communist organizations within their own organization, must concern themselves with all questions of policy and tactics, and also take up a position with regard to the Communist Party, in their respective countries, but never to oppose the accepted resolutions of the Party. In the event of a serious difference of opinion between the Communist Party and the Young Communist organizations, the latter may take advantage of their right to appeal to the Communist International. The task of this political dependence in no way implies the abandonment of its organizational independence, which on educational grounds cannot be permitted.

6. One of the immediate and most important tasks of Young Communist organizations is to make a clean sweep of the remnants of the ideology of political leadership left over from the period of absolute autonomy. The Young Communist press, and the organizations as a whole, must be employed for the purpose of instilling into the minds of the Young Communists the consciousness of being soldiers and responsible members of a Communist Party.

The Young Communist organizations must devote the greatest possible attention, time and effort to this task, at the period when it is beginning to win over large sections of the young workers for the mass movement.

7. The close political co-operation of the Young Communist organizations with the Communist Party must be expressed in close organizational bonds between the two organizations. It is essential to have permanent mutual representations of the organizations at the Party headquarters, district and local organizations, down to the lowest unit of the Communist groups in the factories, in the Trade Unions, as well as mutual representation at all conferences and congresses. In this manner it will be possible for the Communist Party to have a lasting influence on the political

policy and activity of the young organizations, and to help the Young Communist organizations; the latter on the other hand will be able to influence the Party.

8. The relations between the Communist International and the Communist parties still more closely determine the relations between the Young Communist International and the Communist International. The functions of the Young Communist International consists of the centralized leadership of the Young Communist Movement to support and advance the various leagues by moral and material means, to create Young Communist organizations where these do not exist, and to conduct propaganda for the Young Communist International. The Young Communist International is a section of the Communist International, and as such, submits to the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and the Executive Committee. Within these limits it conducts its work and acts as the agent of the political will of the Communist International in all its actions. By means of a strong mutual delegation and close lasting co-operation, the permanent control of the Communist International and the fruitful labor of the Young Communist International in all spheres of activity (leadership, agitation, organization, strengthening and supporting the Communist Organizations) will be guaranteed.

## **TO THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT! DEC- CLARATION OF SYMPATHY WITH MAX HOELZ**

*(Adopted at the 4th Session, June 25th, 1921)*

The German bourgeoisie has added to the 2,000 years sentences of imprisonment and disciplinary detention, imposed by it on our comrades in connection with the March uprising, the sentence to incarceration for life on

### **MAX HOELZ.**

The Communist International is opposed to individual acts of terrorism and sabotage unless they serve the interests of the class war. It is also opposed to guerilla warfare conducted by independent bands without any guidance from the organized proletariat. But the Communist International regards Max Hoelz as a bold rebel against capitalist society, whose discipline is the discipline of the detention house and whose order is being imposed by brute force. His actions were not expedient, for the white terror can be broken only by a mass rising of the workers, which is the only weapon for the achievement of the triumph of the proletariat. But we recognize that he has been actuated by his love for the proletariat and his hate for the bourgeoisie.

Therefore the Congress sends fraternal greetings to Max Hoelz; recommends him to the protection of the German Proletariat, and expresses the hope that he will fight for the emancipation of the German workers in the ranks of the German Communist Party.



**A CALL TO NEW WORK AND NEW STRUG-  
GLES ADDRESSED TO THE PROLE-  
TARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES BY  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMIT-  
TEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL**

*(Adopted at the Session of the Executive  
on the 17th of July, 1921)*

**To the Proletariat of all Countries**

The third Congress of the Communist International is over. The great review of forces of the Communist proletariat of all countries is ended. It has shown that during the past year, in a number of countries in which Communism has just begun to appear it has grown into a great power capable of moving the masses and of threatening capitalism. The Communist International which at its first Constituent Congress represented besides Russia only small groups of comrades, and which at its Second Congress sought for means of creating mass parties, has now at its disposal not only in Russia, but also in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, Norway, Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, parties around whose banner great masses are rallying. The Third Congress is now addressing a call to the communists of all countries to follow this path further and to do all they can, in order to unite ever greater millions and millions of workers in the ranks of the Communist International. The power of capitalism can be broken down only when the idea of Communism will be embodied in the tremendous impetus

of the greater majority of the proletariat, led by communist mass parties encircling the fighting proletarian class in an iron Solidarity. "To the masses" is the first slogan addressed by the Third International to the communists of all countries.

### **Forward to New Great Battles**

These masses are coming to us, streaming into our parties, because world capitalism is proving ever clearer and ever more palpably that the only way of prolonging its own life is by ruining the whole world and increasing ever more the chaos, poverty and enslavement of the masses. In view of the world economic crises, which are driving millions of workers into the streets, the cry of the social democratic flunkies of capitalism "produce more!" is now hushed up, as well as the call of the bourgeois class which it used to address to the workers for years and years "work! work!"

The cry for work is becoming the war cry of the working class, and it will be realized only on the ruins of capitalism, when the proletariat will itself be in possession of the means of production which it has created. The capitalist world is on the eve of new wars. The American-Japanese, the English-French, the French-German, the Polish-German complications, the complications in the Near and Far East, are all driving Europe to increase armaments. They are arousing the terrible question: "Must Europe again tread the path of a new world war?" It is not the murder of millions that the capitalists are fearing. Already since the war, they have coolly condemned millions of people to death through starvation by their policies as well as by their blockade of Russia. What they are afraid of is that a new war will finally drive the masses into the army of the world revolution, that it will mean the final uprising of the world proletariat. They are trying therefore as they did before the war to bring about a relaxing of the tension by diplomatic jugglery. But the relaxing of the tension in one place only signifies an increase of the tension in another. The negotiations between Eng-

land and America on the limitation of naval armaments of both these countries are inevitably creating a battle front against Japan.

The Franco-English rapprochement delivers Germany to France, and Turkey to England. Not peace, but a growing unrest, a growing enslavement of the conquered nations by the capitalism of the victorious countries; this is the result of the endeavors of world capitalism to bring order into the ever-growing world-chaos. The capitalist press is now talking of an era of world prosperity and calm because the German bourgeoisie has submitted to the dictatorship of the Allies, and, in order to save its power, has delivered up the German people to the hyenas of the Paris and London Stock Exchanges. But, at the same time, this same press is full of the development of the economic crisis in Germany, the unheard of taxes which in autumn will pour down like hail upon the masses doomed to unemployment, thus raising the price of every morsel of food, of every scrap of clothing. The Communist International, which is basing its policy on a calm, practical observation of the world situation—for the proletariat can only gain complete victory if it clearly sees and understands the battlefield—says to the proletariat of all countries: Capitalism up to now has proved itself incapable of ensuring to the world the degree of order which existed before the last war. It can only bring a prolongation of our sufferings, a prolongation of its own death process. The world revolution is marching on apace. The foundations of capitalism are shaking everywhere. The second call that the world congress of the Communist International is sending to the proletarians of all countries is:

Forward to meet new great battles! Arm yourselves for new struggles. Straighten out the general battlefront of the proletariat!

The world bourgeoisie is incapable of ensuring work and bread, housing and clothing to the workers; but it is showing its great capacity for organizing the war against the world proletariat. Since the moment of its first great em-

barrassment and since it has overcome its fear of the workers returning home from the war, since it has managed to drive the workers into the factories again and to overthrow their first attempts at revolt since it has succeeded, in spite of the war, in prolonging the agreement with the Social Democratic and Trade Union betrayers of the proletariat to keep the workers divided, splitting the latter, it has been directing all its efforts to organizing a white guard against the proletariat and to disarming the workers. The world bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth. It is ready, not only to repulse all uprisings of the proletariat by force of arms, but it knows how to provoke, when necessary, premature uprisings of the proletariat which is only yet preparing for the struggle in order to defeat it before the general unconquerable front will have assembled. The Communist International must set its own strategy against such strategy of the world bourgeoisie. The Communist International has only one infallible weapon against the cash-boxes of world capitalism, which sets armed brigands against the organized proletariat, namely, the proletarian masses, the united compact front of the proletariat.

The cunning and the power of the bourgeoisie must give way before the onrush of the close ranks of the millions of proletarians; then the railroads, which carry the white guards of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat will come to a standstill. There will be panic among some sections of the white guards. The proletariat will seize their arms in order to turn them against other white guard formations. If we succeed in leading the united proletariat into the struggle, capitalism and the world bourgeoisie will be deprived of the most important guarantee for victory, i.e., the faith in victory which has been restored to them only through the treachery of Social Democracy and the splitting up of the working masses. Only by winning the hearts of the majority of the working class can the victory over capitalism be achieved. The Third Congress of the Communist International appeals to the Communist parties of all countries

and to the Communists within the trade-unions to use their whole strength and all their efforts in order to free the widest possible masses of workers from the influence of the Social Democratic parties and the treacherous trade-union bureaucracy. This is only possible if the Communists of all countries prove themselves, in these trying times, when every day brings new privations for workers, the champions of the workers in all their every-day needs, by leading them in the struggle for more bread and for the lessening of the burdens which capitalism is imposing on them in ever-increasing measure. It is essential to show the working masses, that it is the Communists alone, who are fighting for the betterment of their conditions, and that the Social Democrats and the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats, rather than fight, would see the proletariat perish before their eyes. We cannot beat the betrayers of the proletariat and the agents of the bourgeoisie by theoretical discussions on democracy and dictatorship, but only by supporting the workers in their struggles for bread, for wages, for houses and all the necessities of life. The most important battlefield on which we must meet them and conquer them is the field of the Trade-Union movement, the struggle against the Yellow Amsterdam Trade Union International, the struggle for the Red Trade Union International. It is a struggle over the question of capturing the enemy forts within our own camp, and a struggle for the formation of a battle front before which world capitalism must give way.

Steer clear of centrist tendencies and develop the fighting spirit. It is only through the struggle for the ordinary needs and interests of the workers that we can build up a united front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and put an end to the splitting up of the proletariat, which is the basis for the continued existence of the bourgeoisie. But this proletarian front can only grow strong and eager for battle if it is kept together and led by strong and united Communist Parties with an iron discipline. Therefore the Third World Congress of the Communist International joins to

its call: "To the masses! Build up a united proletarian front" by the further call to the Communists of all countries: "Keep your ranks clear of elements capable of vitiating the fighting morale and the fighting discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat—the Communist Parties." The Communist International Congress confirms the expulsion of the Italian Socialist Party until the latter severs all connection with the reformists and expels them from its ranks. By this decision the Congress expresses its belief that the Communist International cannot harbor in its ranks reformists (whose object is not the proletarian revolution, but reconciliation with the bourgeois and the latter's reform), if it is to lead millions of workers into the revolutionary struggle. Armies which tolerate leaders who contemplate reconciliation with the enemy are always sold and betrayed to their enemy by these very leaders.

The Communist International has also recognized the fact that there are still remnants of reformist tendencies in various parties although the latter had excluded the reformists from their ranks, and that these parties, while not working for the reconciliation with the enemy, are nevertheless not sufficiently energetic in their propaganda against capitalism, and for the revolutionizing of the masses. Parties, which in their daily work fail to become the inspiration of the masses, which are not capable of continuously increasing and strengthening the will to fight of the proletariat, by their own energy and impetuosity, such parties are bound to miss good opportunities for struggle, and to allow spontaneous outbursts of the proletariat to remain without results, as was the case in the occupation of the factories by the Italian workers, and during the December strike in Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist Parties must develop the fighting spirit within their ranks. They must get ready to become the General Staff of the revolutionary movement, which will be able to make the best use of our forces. The Third International says to you: "Be the vanguard of the working masses when they begin to march forward; be their

heart and their brain. And to be the vanguard means—to march at the head of the masses as their bravest, most conscious and most circumspect section. It is only by forming such a vanguard, that the Communist Parties will be able, not only to build up a united proletarian front, but also to lead the proletariat to final victory.

Pit the strategy of the proletariat against the strategy of capitalism. Prepare your battles.

The enemy is strong because for centuries he has had the power in his hands; this has fostered in him the consciousness of power and the desire to keep it. The enemy is strong because he has been learning for centuries how to split, subdue and keep down the proletarian masses. The enemy is experienced in the conduct of civil war, and therefore the Third Congress of the Communist International calls upon the Communist Parties of all countries not to leave out of consideration the danger arising from the perfect strategy of the ruling and possessing class, as against the faulty, newly developing strategy of the proletariat, which is struggling for power. The March events in Germany have shown the great danger, that the front ranks of the working class, the Communist vanguard of the proletariat, may be forced by the enemy into the fight, before the gathering of the great masses of the proletarians has taken place. The Communist International has welcomed the ready assistance given by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout Germany to the menaced workers of Middle Germany. In this spirit of solidarity, in the rising of the proletarians of the entire country, and even of the entire world to defend a menaced portion of the proletariat, the Communist International sees the road to victory. It has welcomed the fact that the United Communist Party of Germany placed itself at the head of the working masses that hastened to the defence of their menaced brothers. But at the same time, the Communist International deems it its duty to declare frankly and distinctly to the workers of all countries: When the vanguard is unable to evade the open fight, when such fights

cannot force the mobilization of the entire working class, the vanguard must not let itself be drawn into decisive fights alone and isolated, that when forced into isolated fight, the vanguard of the proletarian army must evade the armed clash with the enemy, because the source of the victory of the proletariat over the armed white-guards consists in its reliance upon the masses.

If it does not march as an overwhelming mass, the vanguard must not expose itself to the armed enemy as an unarmed minority. And the March events have taught yet another lesson, to which the Communist International draws the attention of the workers of all countries. The broad masses of the workers must be prepared by constant, daily, ever-increasing and extending revolutionary agitation for the coming struggle which shall be entered upon, under the watchwords that have become familiar and understandable to the widest proletarian masses. The strategy of the enemy must be met by wise and deliberate strategy on the part of the proletariat. The militant will of the front ranks does not suffice, nor do their valor and determination. The fight must be so prepared, so organized, that it shall bring along the widest masses into the struggle, which should recognize it as the fight for their vital interests. The struggle must mobilize the masses. The more advanced the position of world-capitalism will be, the more it will attempt to prevent the future victory of the Communist International by destroying its front ranks isolated from the great mass. This plan, this danger, must be met by an all-pervading, all-arousing mass agitation of the Communist Parties, by vigorous organizational activity which assures its influence upon the wide masses, and enables cool judgment of the battle situations, by deliberate tactics of evading the fight against superior forces of the enemy and by taking the offensive in a situation where the enemy is divided and the masses united.

The Third World Congress of the Communist International recognizes that only through experience in fighting will the working class form Communist Parties that will be



able to attack the enemy with lightning rapidity wherever he can be trapped in a tight corner, and to evade him where he has the upper hand. It is therefore the duty of the proletarians of all countries to appreciate and make use internationally of any lessons that the working class in any given country may have gathered through great sacrifices.

Take care of militant discipline!

The working class and the Communist Parties of all countries prepare themselves not for a period of quiet agitation and organization, but for prolonged struggle which capital will now force upon the proletariat, in order to beat it into submitting to all the burdens of capitalist policy. In this fight the Communist Parties must develop the highest militant discipline. Its Party leaders must coolly and deliberately consider all the lessons of the fight, they must prudently review the battlefield, uniting enthusiasm with the greatest deliberation. They must forge their militant plans and their tactical course in the spirit of collective thinking of the entire Party, giving due consideration to all criticism by comrades of the Party. But all the Party organizations must unhesitatingly carry out the course adopted by the Party. Every word and every step of every Party organization must be subordinated to this purpose. The Parliamentary factions, the press of the Party, the Party organizations must unwaveringly obey the order given by the Party leadership.

The world review of the Communist front ranks has ended. It has shown Communism to have become a world power. It has shown that the Communist International has to create and to form even greater armies of the proletariat. It has announced our determination to carry these fights to victory. It has shown to the world's proletariat how to prepare and how to achieve this victory. It is now for the Communist Parties of all countries to make the decisions of the Congress, derived from the experiences of the world's proletariat, the common knowledge of the Communists of all countries, in order that every Communist working man

and woman may become the leader of hundreds of non-Communist proletarians in the struggles that are to come.

Long live the Communist International!

Long Live the World Revolution!

Get to work for the preparation and organization of our victory!

**The Executive of the Communist International**

Germany: Heckert, Froehlich.

France: Souvarine.

Czecho-Slovakia: Burian, Kreibich. —

Italy: Terracini, Gennari.

Russia: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.

Ukraine: Shumsky.

Poland: Warski.

Bulgaria: Popoff.

Jugo-Slavia: Marcovicz.

Norway: Scheffle.

England: Bell.

America: Baldwin.

Spain: Merino, Gracia.

Finland: Sirola.

Holland: Janson.

Belgium: Van Overstraaten.

Sweden: Tschilbum.

Latvia: Stutschka.

Switzerland: Arnhold.

Austria: Koritschoner.

Hungary: Bela Kun.

Executive of the Young Communist International:

Munzenberg, Lekai.

Moscow, July 17th, 1921.











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